THE PASSION AND GLORY OF CHRIST

THE PASSION AND GLORY OF CHRIST

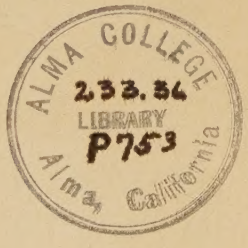
A COMMENTARY ON THE EVENTS FROM THE LAST SUPPER TO THE ASCENSION

BY

MGR. F. X. POELZL, S.T.D.
Professor of Theology at the University of Vienna

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN
BY A. M. BUCHANAN M.A. (LONDON)

REVISED AND EDITED BY
REV. C. C. MARTINDALE, S.J.



NEW YORK
JOSEPH F. WAGNER (INC.)
LONDON: B. HERDER

4647

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Archbishop of New York

New York, October 21, 1919

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EDITOR'S PREFACE

THE author of this book seems to us to have deserved well of two classes of readers: priests, including those preparing to be priests; and those of the laity who, in rapidly increasing numbers, join to sufficient leisure and education the desire to be well acquainted with their religion and the documents which describe its origin. For there are few enough theological students and priests who, before or after ordination, would be able to accumulate the rich and varied evidence and opinions which they will find treasured in this book upon the Passion; and again, there are many of the laity who, even with plenty of time and of money at their disposal, would be scarcely able to find so masterly a "totalization" of the material anywhere else.

Books of all sorts, differing in detail of conclusion, and even in method and in plan, must needs be written upon so vast a subject: and there will be mental temperament enough to welcome all of them. In this volume the author combines with orthodoxy and great erudition that measure of piety which will satisfy those whose feeling as well as thought is Catholic; he has never sacrificed the scientific method to devotion, but he has never, on the other hand, stifled the spirit by his learning. The translator, observing this, has held rigorously to the text wherever that kind of accuracy was demanded, but has permitted herself a wise minimum of freedom, though never infidelity to the sense, where the subject allowed of it. The small measure of revision for which we have been asked, permitted us to simplify and abbreviate yet further, though very seldom, the original.

We may here recommend at once a very few books, in English or French, for those to whom the learned volumes in German, quoted by the author, are not readily accessible. In addition to the well-known works by the Abbé C. Fouard, translated into English, we gladly recall Brassac's *Gospels and Jesus Christ;* the various books by M. Lépin upon the Gospels; Fr.

M. J. Lagrange's noble work, *S. Marc;* Fr. Calmes upon *St. John;* and in general the incomparable production of the Dominican *École Biblique* at Jerusalem, soon, we trust, to be once more in full activity after its inevitable but deplorable interruption. In particular all that relates to the topography of Jerusalem will have to be sought in the learned, sane and lucid pages of *Jerusalem* by Vincent and Abel. The Chronology of the Passion, again, is thoroughly, independently, yet manageably discussed by Fr. C. Lattey in an appendix to his *St. Mark* in the Westminster texts. Those who wish either to anticipate or to regain a comprehensive view of the exhaustive discussions devoted by our author to certain points, cannot do better than to refer to the excellent articles upon them in the *Catholic Encyclopedia,* and, indeed, in the works of Dr. Gigot upon the New Testament, and of course in Fr. H. Pope, O.P.'s recently published *Aids* to the students of the Bible. Nor, assuredly, should the two great French dictionaries, that of Theology and that of Apologetics, still in course of publication, be by any means neglected.

Those, finally, and we hope there are many, who feel the need of allowing their inspiration to keep pace with the activity of their intelligence, will be much helped by Hole's *Jesus of Nazareth,* in which pictures of no slight artistic charm are sanctioned by a scientific preparation and comment.

We trust, therefore, that this treatise will serve at once as a wise check upon hastily formed opinions, and as a welcome stimulus to personal thought and intelligent devotion.

C. C. MARTINDALE.

Oxford, England.

Part I

THE HISTORY OF THE PASSION OF JESUS CHRIST

THE PASSION AND GLORY OF CHRIST

SECTION I

PRELIMINARY INCIDENTS

THIS section contains an account of three events: (1) the Sanhedrin's deliberation and decision regarding Christ; (2) the anointing of Jesus in Bethany; (3) the agreement between Judas and the high priests concerning the arrest of Jesus. Matthew and Mark allude to all three occurrences; Luke omits all mention of the anointing in Bethany, whereas this alone is recorded by John.

The following facts are revealed in this section, and bear the characteristic stamp of Gospel narrative: Jesus was not outwitted by His enemies, but possessed exact knowledge of the fate awaiting Him, and went of His own accord, without fear and hesitation, to meet suffering.

I. The Sanhedrin's Deliberation and Decision Regarding Christ

Matthew xxvi. 1. And it came to pass, when Jesus had ended all these words, he said to his disciples: 2. You know that after two days shall be the pasch, and the son of man shall be delivered up to be crucified: 3. Then were gathered together the chief priests and ancients of the people into the court of the high priest, who was called Caiphas. 4. And they consulted together that by subtilty they might apprehend Jesus, and put him to death. 5. But they said: Not on the festival day, lest perhaps there should be a tumult among the people.

Mark xiv. 1. Now the feast of the pasch, and of the azymes was after two days: and the chief priests and the scribes sought how they might by some wile lay hold on him and kill him. 2. But they said: Not on the festival day, lest there should be a tumult among the people.

Luke xxii. 1. Now the feast of unleavened bread, which is called the pasch, was at hand. 2. And the chief priests and the scribes sought how they might put Jesus to death: but they feared the people.

Five days before the Pasch,[1] on the tenth day of the month Nisan, which in the year of the Crucifixion was a Sunday, Jesus Christ made His solemn entry into the Jewish capital, and was publicly hailed as the Messiah by the crowds that escorted Him from Bethany, and by those that poured out of Jerusalem to meet Him. The fact that He made His solemn entry into Jerusalem on the very day on which the law[2] required the Jews to set apart the Paschal lamb was to indicate that the time had come for the true Victim[3] to take the place of the figure which had hitherto represented Him.

The inhabitants of Jerusalem, although for the most part hostile to Christ, perceived from the signs of the times that great events were at hand; but, as they were unwilling to acknowledge Him as the Messiah, the homage offered Him aroused their indignation.[4] This was especially the case with the members of the Sanhedrin, the Pharisees and Sadducees, who at first were forced to confess themselves powerless to resist the popular enthusiasm for Jesus,[5] but after a while gained sufficient courage to assail Him. They saw that His popularity rested chiefly with a large number of pilgrims who had come to Jerusalem for the festival, and they sought means to counteract this popularity and to bring about His destruction. Therefore the chief priests,[6] the Pharisees in union with the Herodians whom they hated,[7] the Sadducees,[8] and again the Pharisees,[9] asked Christ insidious questions in order to discredit Him with the populace. However, on each occasion He not only silenced His enemies, but took, as it were, the offensive, and ended His ministry in their midst by uttering a solemn denunciation of the scribes and Pharisees.[10] Then with His disciples He withdrew from Jerusalem to the Mount of Olives, whence He viewed the city, and uttered a prophetic discourse foretelling His second coming, the end of the world and the last judgment.[11] These proceedings took place on the Monday and Tuesday, and perhaps on the Wednesday also, of Holy Week.

Matthew alone introduces his account of the Passion with the statement "when Jesus had ended all these words." Various interpretations have been assigned to this remark, which may refer to all of Christ's discourses uttered after His solemn entry into Jerusalem, but some commentators think that the words refer to all Christ's speeches recorded by Matthew, i.e., to His whole ministry.[12] Matthew, again, is the only evangelist who states that our Saviour warned His apostles of the immi-

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[1] Compare John xii. 12, and xii. 1.
[2] Exod. xii. 3.
[3] 1 Cor. v. 7; cf. John i. 29.
[4] Matthew xxi. 10.
[5] John xii. 19.
[6] Matthew xxi. 23 *sqq.*
[7] Matthew xxii. 15 *sq.*
[8] Matthew xxii. 23 *sqq.*
[9] Matthew xxii. 34 *sqq.*
[10] Matthew xxiii. 1 *sqq.*
[11] Matthew xxiv. 1 *sqq.*
[12] Bede: *Omnes sermones, quos ab initio evangelii sui usque ad tempus passionis compleverat.* Aquinas, Mald., and others.

nent tragedy, which according to Mark the members of the Sanhedrin were doing their best to bring about: "You know that after two days shall be the Pasch, and the Son of Man shall be delivered up to be crucified."

This announcement was made for various reasons. The disciples had to be taught that Jesus was not outwitted by His enemies, but trod the path of suffering voluntarily, without fear or hesitation, being fully aware of all the circumstances.[1] The precise indication of the day when His Passion should begin was intended by our Lord to strengthen His disciples in their faith in Him, since the occurrence of the events foretold would testify to His omniscience. Moreover, the fulfillment of this prophecy would confirm the apostles and all subsequent disciples in their confidence that the other prophecies, concerning the destiny of the Church and the end of the world, would likewise be fulfilled.

The date of the beginning of the Passion is fixed by the evangelists thus: "The feast of the Pasch and of the azymes was after two days" (Mark); "The feast of unleavened bread, which is called the Pasch, was at hand" (Luke). The expression: "the Pasch and the azymes" is a careful designation of the whole festival, which began with the eating of the Paschal lamb on the evening of the fourteenth day of the month Nisan, and lasted until the twenty-second day. During this period the law forbade the Jews to eat any but unleavened bread. We shall have occasion further on to discuss in detail the significance of the festival and the manner of its observance.

It is certain that our Saviour kept the Paschal feast on a Thursday and was crucified on the following Friday, but we cannot with equal certainty decide on which day of the week He foretold His approaching death, because various interpretations may be, and have been, assigned to the words: "after two days shall be the Pasch." Many commentators think that the prophecy was uttered on Wednesday, the fourteenth of Nisan,[2] but it is far more probable that the expression "after two days" refers to two intervening days, and therefore we may follow the majority of scholars and assume that when Jesus spoke of the approaching Pasch and of the beginning of His Passion He was on the Mount of Olives on the Tuesday evening, after uttering His prophecy about the end of the world. Lamy thinks it impossible to compress into Monday and Tuesday all the events,

[1] In commenting on this passage, the Venerable Bede remarks: *Erubescant, qui putant, Salvatorem mortem timuisse passionis: praescivit et tamen non declinavit insidias, nec terretur nec fugit.*

[2] Maldonatus, Cornelius à Lapide, and others.

instructions and discussions recorded by the evangelists after our Lord's entry into Jerusalem, but his arguments are unconvincing, and Bynaeus has made quite contrary assertions.

Deliberation of Christ's enemies. Matthew says: "Then were gathered together the chief priests and ancients of the people into the court of the high-priest, who was called Caiphas." Mark and Luke do not speak explicitly of any assembly; they only say that the chief priests and scribes sought how they might lay hold on and kill Jesus.

The time of this deliberation. The word *then* may mean that the assembly was convoked after Christ's mention of the Pasch, not simultaneously with it. Those who think that τότε implies the two things to have been simultaneous, and believe Christ to have on Tuesday foretold the beginning of His Passion, are obliged to assign the gathering of the assembly to Tuesday evening.[1] By most commentators, however, it is assigned to Wednesday morning, and by a few [2] to Wednesday evening. The fact that the apostles instructed their converts to fast on Wednesday [3] supports the view that the meeting was held on that day, for St. Augustine tells us that this fast commemorated the decision of the assembly to put Jesus to death.[4]

A further reason for accepting this theory will be discussed in the section dealing with the betrayal of Christ by Judas.

The important question arises whether we are to assume the assembly to have been a formal, official gathering of the whole Sanhedrin, or only a private meeting of a few members for the purpose of consultation. The following points derived from the account given by the evangelists may help to decide the matter. Mark and Luke speak of chief priests and scribes as having been present, and elsewhere these two classes are mentioned as constituting the Sanhedrin.[5] Matthew includes the ancients of the people, so that these three evangelists collectively mention all three classes of men composing the great Jewish Council. The subject to be discussed was so important that we should *a priori* be inclined to suppose a general meeting of the whole Sanhedrin to have been called. On the other hand Matthew tells us that the chief priests and ancients were

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[1] Thus Schegg: τότε is, however, as characteristic and as vague in Matthew as εὐθύς is in Mark. (They need merely mean anon. — Ed.)

[2] Lamy.

[3] Doctrina 12 Apostolorum, 8, 1: ὑμεῖς δὲ νηστεύσατε τετράδα καὶ παρασκευήν.

[4] St. August. (ep. 36, 30, al. 86, Migne, 33, 150); *Cur autem quarta et sexta maxime jejunet ecclesia, illa ratio reddi videtur, quod considerato evangelio ipsa quarta sabbati quam vulgo quartam feriam vocant, consilium reperiuntur ad occidendum dominum fecisse Judaei.*

[5] Compare Matthew xx. 18, with xvi. 21.

gathered together in the court of Caiphas, and consequently some maintain that an assembly, not held in the regular place, could have been merely private, and not official.[1]

The regular meeting place of the Sanhedrin was called *Lishkat hagazith* (=*aula ex caesis lapidibus exstructa*) or simply *Gazith* (=hewn, a word applied especially to ashlar). Its site can be determined with great probability. It was identical with the Council Chamber (βουλευτήριον) mentioned by Flavius Josephus, and stood on the southwestern portion of the Temple hill, close to the bridge leading from the Xystos[2] across the Tyropoëon, and not, as the later rabbinical tradition asserts, in the inner court of the Temple, although it was situated within the outer wall of the Temple.

According to a rabbinical tradition, the Sanhedrin, forty years before the destruction of the Temple, had forsaken the Gazith, and for a time held its meetings in the *tabernae* or market, and afterwards in the high-priest's house. *Migravit Sanhedrin a conclavi Gazith ad Tabernas, a Tabernis in Hierosolymam.*[3] Apparently, therefore, the ordinary official meetings of the Sanhedrin were held, during the life of Christ, in the high-priest's palace. Schürer thinks that, even if this tradition has no weight, there were still adequate grounds for choosing some extraordinary place for the assembly convoked with the purpose of discussing the line of action to be adopted against Jesus. If it was desirable to arrest Him secretly (and the prevalent feeling of the populace might well make the Sanhedrin avoid any publicity), this would hardly have been possible on the Temple hill, where pilgrims were already thronging to the festival. As the subsequent course of their proceedings shows, we need not consider the scrupulosity of the Sanhedrists, in their dealings with Jesus.

According to the evangelists, the Sanhedrin did not meet in order to discuss *whether* Jesus should be put to death, but to decide *how* He might be apprehended and killed, for they had previously arrived at a definite conclusion regarding His death, and this conclusion motived all their subsequent action. Realizing that in consequence of the miraculous raising of Lazarus many Jews believed in Jesus, the Council had declared that the welfare of the State required energetic proceedings to be taken against Him, as, unless His activity were checked, all the Jews would believe in Him, and the Romans would take possession of

[1] Among Catholics this view is adopted by Reischl, Bisping, and Holzammer.

[2] The Xystos was a covered colonnade on the northeast point of Mount Sion, opposite the southwestern corner of the Temple hill. It was used for popular assemblies and gymnastic exercises.

[3] Bynaeus, I, 2, 17.

the whole of Palestine, whereupon Caiphas reproved the Sanhedrists for their hesitation to take the only proper and effectual means of securing the welfare of the nation, viz., to put Jesus to death. "You know nothing," he said, "neither do you consider that it is expedient for you that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not."[1] Thus the man highest in authority pronounced our Lord's death sentence, and the Sanhedrists thenceforth had merely to consider the best means to execute the sentence.

Decisions of the Sanhedrin. The Sanhedrists came to the conclusion that it was possible to seize Jesus during the festival, provided it were done craftily and without open violence, so that the populace should not hear of it; His execution, however, would have to be deferred until after the festival. Great caution had to be shown in the apprehension and execution of Jesus, since there was danger that the people, being favorable to Him, should oppose any such action. That the Sanhedrists were most anxious to avoid stirring up any popular demonstration in favor of Jesus is plain from Mark's words, and there was good reason for anxiety because at great festivals riots were of common occurrence in Jerusalem, owing to the vast concourse of people from all parts. Hence the Roman governors had been obliged to take special measures to prevent disturbances.[2] On this occasion the Sanhedrists feared the pilgrims from Galilee in particular, who were full of love and gratitude toward Jesus. It is therefore a mistake to suppose that the Sanhedrists feared, not a public uproar, but only an interruption in the celebration of the festival. The motives which led to the decision of the Sanhedrists show that the sanctity of the festival, and especially of the opening day, constituted in their eyes no obstacle to the apprehension and execution of Jesus.[3]

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[1] John xi. 49, 50.

[2] Bynaeus, I, 2, 27.

[3] Jansenius: *Itaque his verbis indicant, nisi timuissent populum, nihil veritos fuisse etiam in eundem diem Paschatis caedem ejus decernere, sicut et post . . . reipsa factum est.* Cornelius à Lapide and others take the same view.

II. The Anointing of Christ in Bethany

Matthew xxvi. 6–13

6. And when Jesus was in Bethania, in the house of Simon the leper,
7. There came to him a woman having an alabaster-box of precious ointment, and poured it on his head as he was at table.
8. And the disciples seeing it, had indignation, saying: To what purpose is this waste?
9. For this might have been sold for much, and given to the poor.
10. And Jesus knowing it, said to them: Why do you trouble this woman? For she hath wrought a good work upon me.
11. For the poor you have always with you: but me you have not always.
12. For she in pouring this ointment upon my body, hath done it for my burial.
13. Amen I say to you, wheresoever this gospel shall be preached in the whole world, that also which she hath done, shall be told for a memory of her.

Mark xiv. 3–9

3. And when he was in Bethania in the house of Simon the leper, and was at meat, there came a woman having an alabaster box of ointment of precious spikenard: and breaking the alabaster box she poured it out upon his head.
4. Now there were some that had indignation within themselves, and said: Why was this waste of the ointment made?
5. For this ointment might have been sold for more than three hundred pence, and given to the poor. And they murmured against her.
6. But Jesus said: Let her alone, why do you molest her? She hath wrought a good work upon me.
7. For the poor you have always with you; and whensoever you will, you may do them good; but me you have not always.
8. What she had, she hath done; she is come beforehand to anoint my body for the burial.
9. Amen I say to you, wheresoever this gospel shall be preached in the whole world, that also which she hath done, shall be told for a memorial of her.

John xii. 1–8

1. Jesus therefore six days before the pasch came to Bethania, where Lazarus had been dead, whom Jesus raised to life.
2. And they made him a supper there: and Martha served, but Lazarus was one of them that were at table with him.
3. Mary therefore took a pound of ointment of right spikenard, of great price, and anointed the feet of Jesus, and wiped his feet with her hair: and the house was filled with the odour of the ointment.
4. Then one of his disciples, Judas Iscariot, he that was about to betray him, said:
5. Why was not this ointment sold for three hundred pence, and given to the poor?
6. Now he said this, not because he cared for the poor; but because he was a thief, and having the purse, carried the things that were put therein.
7. Jesus therefore said: Let her alone, that she may keep it against the day of my burial.
8. For the poor you have always with you; but me you have not always.

Biblical accounts of the Anointing. In the first two gospels the account of our Lord's anointing in Bethany is placed between the narrative of the Sanhedrin's decision with regard to Jesus and of His betrayal by Judas. Luke does not allude to any anointing corresponding to these circumstances, but records how at a much earlier period Jesus was anointed by a notorious woman in a city of Galilee, perhaps Capharnaum or Naim.[1] John, on the other hand, states that six days before the Pasch Jesus was anointed in Bethany by Mary, the sister of Lazarus and Martha. Opinions have been and still are divided regarding the relation in which these four accounts stand to one another, and also regarding the woman who anointed our Lord. The following points may be accepted as very probable results of careful research: — The anointing recorded by Luke is not identical with that recorded by the other synoptic evangelists. The accounts given by Matthew and Mark are to be identified with that of John. Thus our Saviour, during His public ministry was anointed twice (not three times, nor only once): the first time in Galilee, during the second year of His ministry; and the

[1] Luke vii. 36–50.

second time in Bethany near Jerusalem, shortly before His Passion. Regarding the sinful woman, of whom Luke speaks, Catholic commentators now-a-days prove, or show by their arguments, that the question of identity of the "sinner" (ἁμαρτωλός, Luke vii. 37), Mary Magdalen (Luke viii. 2), and Mary of Bethany is doubtful. Some add that perhaps the question will remain forever doubtful; others seem to wish that the question should not be considered closed, in order that the identity might be finally established.

The identification of Mary Magdalen (Luke viii. 2) with the "sinner" (Luke vii. 37) is hopeless, for just the opposite could be proved by these texts. The identification of Mary of Bethany with the "sinner" of Luke vii. 37 on account of John xi. 2 has no solid probability, for grammatically the very indefiniteness and timelessness of the aorist participle ἡ ἀλείψασα favors and forces even according to the best commentators a reference to John xii. 1.

John as Evangelist fulfills the prophetic word (Matthew xxvi. 13; Mark xiv. 9), "Amen I say to you . . . ," which prophecy naturally therefore John himself omits. John gives the name of the anointing woman which the synoptics omit. Even a reference to John's oral gospel-preaching may be indicated.

Considering the history of the question the doubt in the East is clear; in the West up to Gregory the Great we find the same traditional wavering rather than a gradually strengthening tradition. With Gregory himself the identity is a private opinion which by the lessons in the Breviary became a common devotional opinion for subsequent centuries, as so much in the lives of the Saints.

As soon as the scientific and critical discussion was opened by the treatise of Faber Stabulensis (1517–1519) the old doubt reappeared, never to be fully superseded.

The characteristics of the same intense love for and fervent desire to be with the Saviour proves no identity since there is a love of active and contemplative life as in Martha and Mary.

Harmonistic question. With regard to the position of the account of the anointing in the first two gospels, on the one hand, and the date given by John on the other, it is a debated point whether the story is placed in correct chronological order by the two synoptic writers or by John; in other words, whether Jesus was anointed in Bethany two days before His Passion,[1] i.e., on the Tuesday or Wednesday in Holy Week, or six days before, as St. John says. Most commentators accept the latter theory, which seems the more probable for the following reasons: John appears to have fixed precisely the date of Christ's arrival in Bethany, in order at the same time to indicate the day on which He was anointed there. The fourth gospel is remarkable throughout for the chronological arrangement of its subject matter, and in it the account of the anointing precedes that of the solemn entry into Jerusalem. The two synoptic gospels contain the account of the anointing, but without any indication of time, and the word "then," with which the betrayal by Judas is introduced, cannot be regarded as proof that the two evangelists adhere strictly to a chronological sequence of events. The position of this account looks as if they inserted it there for a definite reason; they wished to reveal the immediate external reason for Judas' action, and also to prove that Jesus had full knowledge of the suffering in store for Him, and looked forward to it with perfect composure.

[1] Bynaeus, I, 3, 5.

The Day of the Feast and the Anointing. Six days before the Pasch, Jesus came to Bethany by way of Peraea and Jericho,[1] and in all probability the feast was held on the evening of His arrival. The indication of time is not very clear, but most likely the six days mentioned by John are to be taken literally, and intervened between the day of our Lord's coming to Bethany and the Pasch (the fifteenth of Nisan). If this is correct He reached Bethany on Friday, the eighth of Nisan, not on Saturday, the ninth; the Mosaic law required everyone to rest on the Sabbath, and it was a custom among the Jews to entertain their friends on Friday evenings.

The derivation of *Bethany* is not certain. According to the Talmud "Bethany" is equal to the Aramaic "Beth-Aineh" or "Beth-Hini," which means "place of dates." This is confirmed by the adjacent "Bethphage," which means "house of figs," and "Mount of Olives." Some trace it to the root "Anah," and it would yield the sense of "place of affliction" or "place of afflicted one" — "poor-house." The little town stood in a hollow on the eastern slope of the Mount of Olives, and, according to St. John,[2] was fifteen furlongs, or about three quarters of an hour's walk, from Jerusalem. The place is now known as El Azarijeh, and is a fairly large village, consisting of about forty houses inhabited by Moslems. A ruinous tower on the highest ground in the neighborhood is pointed out as marking the tomb of Lazarus, and about forty yards to the south was the house occupied by Mary and Martha.

The host at the banquet. The synoptic writers tell us that the feast was given by a certain Simon, known as "the leper," because he had once suffered from leprosy, and in all probability had been cured by Christ. There is no reason at all for thinking that "the leper" was a family name.[3] As to the identity of this Simon with Simon the Pharisee, mentioned by St. Luke,[4] no argument except the similarity of name can be adduced in support of it; in fact, circumstances point to the contrary. Martha, who had previously taken a prominent part in waiting upon Jesus,[5] displayed the same zeal on this occasion also, thus testifying to her love and gratitude toward her great Benefactor. No valid objection can be raised to her service in the house of Simon, who, if not a relative, was an intimate friend of her family. St. John's words, "they made Him a

[1] Compare Matthew xix. 1–xx. 34; Mark x. 1–52; Luke xviii. 31–xix. 28.
[2] xi. 18.
[3] Jansenius and others take this view.
[4] vii. 36, 40.
[5] Luke x. 38 *sqq.*

supper," perhaps justify the assumption that Simon prepared the banquet in his house in his name and in the name of the family of Lazarus conjointly.[1] Lazarus and the apostles were entertained at the feast as well as Jesus.

Mary's action during the feast. There are indications in the gospels[2] showing that distinguished guests were treated by the Jews with extraordinary marks of deference. On arrival they were welcomed by the host with a kiss; then their feet were washed, and their hair, beard, and sometimes even their feet were anointed with fragrant and precious oils. In the supper room at Bethany Jesus received an unusually tender manifestation of courtesy from Mary, the loving and grateful sister of Lazarus, who was one of the guests, and of Martha, who was waiting upon them. While our Lord was seated at table, she entered the room, carrying an alabaster vase that contained a pint of genuine and very costly spikenard. She opened the vase by breaking the long, narrow neck, the mouth of which was sealed, and then she poured the contents over our Lord's head and feet, afterwards drying the latter with her own hair. All three evangelists emphasize the fact that the oil was very precious, and Mark and John describe it as "right spikenard." This oil was obtained from the thick, fragrant roots, stems, and especially the spikes, of the nard-grass, a plant indigenous to eastern and southern India. St. John alone states the quantity used,—a pound, or pint, and tells us that Judas estimated its value at 300 pence or denarii, i.e., $50 or $60, while according to St. Mark it was even more costly. According to Pliny a pound of the best spikenard would cost over $80.[3] All three evangelists say that the vessel in which Mary carried the oil was an "alabastron." This suggests that it was made of the white or pale red alabaster which, according to Pliny, possessed better than any other substance the property of preserving perfumes.[4] In course of time, however, the name alabastron was used to designate any container for perfume, even those made of gold or silver, and consequently many commentators think that Mary's vessel was of glass, since only such a one could be broken easily.[5] It is inaccurate to suppose that

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[1] Jansenius.
[2] Luke vii. 44 *sqq.*
[3] N. H. 13, 4.
[4] N. H. 13, 3.
[5] De la Haye and others.

the vase was called an alabastron, not from the stone of which it was made, but from the fact of its having no handle.[1]

The disciples' criticism. Mary's loving action, far from meeting from the disciples with the approval that it deserved, actually aroused their indignation. The accounts given by the evangelists vary slightly, but can easily be reconciled. Matthew states in a general way that "the disciples . . . had indignation," Mark says that "some" had indignation, and John mentions Judas Iscariot. All the evangelists agree as to the cause of the indignation; the disciples regarded the anointing as wasteful, because the oil, if sold, would have brought more than $50 in our money, and this sum might have been devoted to the support of the poor. With regard to Judas, St. John remarks that his anxiety for the poor was hypocritical, and that his real motive was avarice, in which he had indulged by unjust inroads upon the money bestowed in alms for the support of the disciples, and that he, as purse-bearer, was entitled to spend.

St. John's remark regarding the hypocrisy of Judas supplies the keynote enabling us to reconcile the accounts given by the three evangelists. St. Jerome,[2] St. Augustine,[3] St. Bede,[4] and others think that Matthew and Mark speak "sylleptically," that is, ascribe to all what is strictly true only of one individual. They refer to an explanation that St. Augustine offers as follows: *potest etiam intelligi, quod et alii discipuli aut senserint hoc, aut dixerint, aut eis Juda dicente persuasum sit, atque omnium voluntatem Matthaeus et Marcus etiam verbis expresserint.* If this explanation be accepted, we may believe that Judas was the first to murmur, ostensibly because of his solicitude for the poor, but really owing to his avarice; and then some of the other disciples, being influenced by genuine love of the poor, followed his example. Most modern commentators adopt this view. The disciples failed to perceive the deeper significance of Mary's action, and their murmurs at it are intelligible, for they had long associated with their humble Master, and knew both His desire to avoid all earthly honors and His intense love of the poor.

The opinion expressed by Jesus. Our Lord defended Mary's action, and termed it a good work, the outcome of her faith, love, and gratitude. The apostles could always, He said, display their love and care of the poor, because they would continually have needy persons in their midst. He teaches us

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[1] Suidas says: ἄγγος μύρου, μὴ ἔχον λαβάς. Menoch. gives the same derivation.

[2] Comm. in Matth.

[3] De cons. evangel. 2, 156.

[4] Comm. in Matth.

that expenditure incurred for the honor and glory of God should not be called in question under the plea that the poor require the money. Theophylact, commenting on this passage, writes: *quando igitur quis offert Deo donum, ne averseris illum, neque confringas alacritatem ejus, abducens illum, ut pauperibus det, sed sine implere oblationem.*[1] Those Christians who lavishly are spending of their wealth in honor of Christ and for the purpose of adding dignity to the worship of God, are unlikely to forget the poor, for they know the words: "Amen, I say to you, so long as you did it to one of these my least brethren, you did it to me."[2] Nor is the Church itself oblivious of these words and in times of extraordinary distress Church authorities have not hesitated to sell the most precious altar plate, in order to supply with the proceeds the needs of the poor.

Jesus went on to disclose the deep significance of Mary's good work, and to point out its close connection with His approaching Passion and Death. Matthew and Mark are here in complete agreement, but the latter lays more stress upon the anticipatory character of the anointing. "She is come beforehand to anoint my body for the burial." Our Lord's words can be understood in two ways. Most commentators think that the reference is to the prophetic and symbolical bearing of the anointing upon the death of Christ, but they do not assume that Mary, who anointed Jesus from motives of reverence and gratitude, connected her action consciously with her Master's approaching Passion.[3] Some few exponents, however, suppose that Mary, having listened attentively to His words, was aware that He had frequently foretold His suffering, and gathered from what was taking place that the beginning of His Passion was at hand. Hence when she anointed Jesus in Bethany, she really intended to perform for her Master, while living, the service of love that she might be unable to render Him after death.[4]

St. John's account presents certain difficulties, and in the Greek manuscripts there is evidence of various readings. The *Receptа* has adopted a text, the literal translation of which is:

[1] So also Mald., Jansenius, and Schanz.
[2] Matthew xxv. 40.
[3] Schanz and others take this view.
[4] Thus Jansenius and Bisping; I myself incline to this latter interpretation.

"Leave her alone; she has reserved it (i.e., the oil) for the day of my burial." The idea is: The woman has saved the oil for use this day, which is called by anticipation the day of Christ's burial; hence the anointing performed on this day signifies the embalming of His body. The text in Matthew and Mark expresses precisely the same idea; but there are both external and internal reasons for retaining in St. John's gospel a reading which coincides with that of the Vulgate, and may be translated: "Leave her alone, that she may keep it for the day of my burial." When compared with the text of the other two evangelists, this reading presents considerable difficulty, as is shown by various attempts to elucidate it. Some commentators think that in St. John's gospel Christ speaks of the employment, on the day of His burial, of the spikenard left over on this occasion. On the other hand, we must bear in mind: (1) that, according to St. Mark, Mary had broken the alabaster vessel, and had apparently used all the spikenard; (2) that Christ's body was in all probability not embalmed at all, in the strict sense of the word, and certainly it was not embalmed by women; (3) that, if this interpretation be accepted, Jesus did not answer the remark made by Judas, who protested against the waste of the spikenard on that particular occasion. Other commentators translate: "Permit her to have kept it for the day of my burial." If this method of translation were quite certainly permissible, the difficulty would be very simply removed by this interpretation. Others again regard the Greek word as meaning, not to store up (*conservare, servare*), but to keep or observe (*observare*) — as in the expressions to keep the Sabbath, to keep the law — and so they render the passage: "Leave her alone, that she may observe this for the day of my burial, i.e., that she may anoint me now, as if the day of my burial had already arrived."[1] I suggest the following explanation: Jesus called the use to which the oil was being put (in contradistinction to the disposition proposed by Judas), a safekeeping of it until the day of His actual burial, because then only would the full meaning and justification of Mary's action be made manifest. I consider this interpretation satisfactory, but, if it be rejected, the latter of the two elucidations given above appears the more acceptable. Most of the earlier Catho-

[1] So Ewald and Schanz.

lic commentators avoid the difficulty presented in this passage by the Vulgate text, and remark, quite unjustifiably, that in the Greek text the perfect tense is used, instead of the present which occurs in the Vulgate.

In conclusion our Saviour solemnly promised that wherever the gospel of man's redemption through Christ should be preached in the whole world, Mary's work of love should be remembered and extolled. These words contain a prophecy that has been fulfilled in the Church. The tidings of salvation have reached the uttermost ends of the earth, and with them Mary's praise resounds in every land.

III. The Agreement Between Judas and the High Priests

Matthew xxvi. 14–16	Mark xiv. 10, 11	Luke xxii. 3–4, 6
14. Then went one of the twelve, who was called Judas Iscariot, to the chief priests. 15. And said to them: What will you give me, and I will deliver him unto you? But they appointed him thirty pieces of silver. 16. And from thenceforth he sought opportunity to betray him.	10. And Judas Iscariot, one of the twelve, went to the chief priests, to betray him to them. 11. Who hearing it were glad; and they promised him they would give him money. And he sought how he might conveniently betray him.	3. And satan entered into Judas who was surnamed Iscariot, one of the twelve. 4. And he went, and discoursed with the chief priests and the magistrates, how he might betray him to them. 6. And he promised. And he sought opportunity to betray him in the absence of the multitude.

The traitor's personality. All three evangelists speak of Judas as "one of the twelve," i.e., an apostle. This agreement indicates a definite purpose. The traitor is represented as one who, having been intimately associated with Jesus, was in a position to betray Him; the horrible infamy of his action is thus suggested, and also the intense grief felt by Jesus at being betrayed by a man who for so long had belonged to the circle of His closest followers, and had received so many tokens of His fatherly love and care.

The traitor was known as Judas Iscariot,[1] but his full name, according to the received Greek text of St. John's gospel,[2] was Judas, son of Simon, the Iscariot. The name Iscariot is almost universally derived from that of the town Kerioth (Vulgate: Carioth): Judas the man of Kerioth.[3]

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[1] Matthew xxvi. 14. [2] John xiii. 2.

[3] Chrys.: *Ex urbe eum nominavit.* Jerome: *Vel a vico aut urbe in quo ortus est, vel ex tribu Isachar vocabulum sumpsit.* . . . Another argument

Kerioth was in the territory occupied by the tribe of Juda, and lay to the south of Hebron. It may probably be identified with the little town now called Kereitein, which is about fifteen miles south of Hebron, on the road to Wady Musa.

The other apostles being all Galileans by birth,[1] Judas was the only one of the twelve who belonged to the tribe of Juda. Many commentators doubt whether he was even born in Judea. We learn from St. John's gospel that his father was known as "the Iscariot,"[2] and in two passages, according to the most trustworthy Greek reading, the father Simon, and not the son Judas, is termed the Iscariot; the same thing occurs in the Vulgate, in a passage at variance with the recognized Greek text.[3] It has been suggested that Simon migrated from Kerioth to Galilee, and that his son, though born in Galilee, inherited the name Iscariot. It seems more probable, however, that father and son migrated at the same time, and that consequently both bore the same surname.

Judas' dealings with the high priests. The accounts given by the evangelists display the following peculiarities: those of Matthew and Luke supplement each other regarding the influence brought to bear upon the traitor, and the motives that led him astray; on the subject of his dealings with the Sanhedrists Matthew's account is the more precise, although here, too, it is supplemented by Luke's. There is nothing specifically particular in Mark's version. The time when Judas actually proceeded to carry out his treacherous designs is indicated by Matthew alone, by means of the vague particle translated as "then," "at that time," referring to the deliberation and decision of the Sanhedrin.

"Then," either while the Sanhedrin was engaged in discussing the fate of Jesus, or after the close of this discussion — the word admits of either interpretation — Judas went to the high priests. The second interpretation is preferable, and so Wednesday in Holy Week may be regarded as the day when Judas betrayed our Lord. From the linguistic point of view this interpretation may be agreed to by those commentators also who believe that the Sanhedrists met on Tuesday. It gains additional support from the fact that since apostolic times Wednesday and Friday were observed as days of fasting, and St. Peter, Patriarch of Alexandria at the beginning of the fourth century,

in support of this theory is derived from the fact that the *Codex Sinaiticus* and other MSS. and versions read ἀπο καρυώτου.

[1] Acts ii. 7.
[2] John vi. 71 (Vulgate, 72); xiii. 26.
[3] John xiii. 2.

states explicitly that they were thus observed because Christ was betrayed on the former, and crucified on the latter day.[1] Some commentators, who think that the account of Mary's anointing of Jesus stands in St. John in its correct chronological sequence (whereas this is not the case in the synoptic gospels), assume that the particle τότε indicates not the time, but the immediate external reason for the betrayal.[2]

The negotiations were conducted with the high priests and the rulers of the Temple. The latter were the chiefs of the watch, consisting of priests and Levites, who had to guard the sanctuary by turns, day and night. At the head of the rulers collectively was one of very high rank, who is mentioned in the New Testament as "the officer of the Temple." Judas made his compact with the high priests and at the same time with the rulers of the Temple, who were not members of the Sanhedrin. This circumstance seems to show that he did not immediately go to the council chamber, to communicate there directly with the Council officially assembled. Moreover the discussion for the purpose of deciding how to deal with Jesus was kept as secret as possible, and ordinary prudence would suggest the expediency of not admitting to the public assembly any person whose trustworthiness was not guaranteed.[3] In all probability Judas did not bargain with the Sanhedrin at any formal meeting, however secret, but spoke to individual members, beginning with the high priests, and the rulers of the Temple were invited to be present, in order that measures might be taken without delay to carry out the decisions just formed.

Matthew alone says that Judas personally asked what his reward should be for the abominable act of treachery: "What will you give me, and I will deliver him unto you?" i.e., "How much will you pay me if I betray him?" According to Mark and Luke the Jews were glad to hear that Judas was willing to betray his Master, for thus help came to them from an unexpected quarter, and from one in a position to assure with

[1] See article Judas in Catholic Encyclopedia and in Kirchen-Lexikon; Langen, 38.

[2] Jansenius: *Videtur (evangelista) non tam tempus abitus tangere, quam proximam occasionem proditionis: cum scil. Christi reprehensione irritatus et unguenti pretio esset frustratus.* Corn. à Lap. connects the reference to time with that to cause.

[3] Compare Bynaeus, I, 4, 8.

absolute certainty the fulfillment of their long-cherished and ardent desires. The high priests, delighted at Judas' proposal, promised him thirty silver shekels, about $20 in our money, if he would accomplish the deed. This sum was actually paid him, either before or immediately after the betrayal.

Mark and Luke speak only of a promise to give Judas money, but they neither specify the exact sum, nor state whether the promise was kept. Matthew mentions thirty pieces of silver as the sum promised, and uses the verb ἔστηδαν to designate the high priest's action with regard to Judas. This may mean, either they appointed, promised (Vulgate: *constituerunt*), or they weighed out, i.e., paid. In the next chapter (xxvii. 9, 10) Matthew quotes Zach. xi. 12. Even if in that quotation ἔστηδαν must be understood as "they paid" (which is doubtful), it does not follow that we must take St. Matthew's account to mean that the high priests paid Judas the reward of his treachery at their first interview with him. In accordance with his usual style of writing, Matthew here alludes only to the main fact, the payment of thirty pieces of silver, and makes no mention of attendant circumstances. If then we understand ἔστηδαν to mean "they paid," the accounts given by the evangelists may be reconciled thus: Mark and Luke speak of the promise made to Judas at his first meeting with the high priests; Matthew of the subsequent payment.

St. Paul explains how it was possible for Judas to sink so low as to betray his Master: "The desire of money is the root of all evils, which some coveting have erred from the faith, and have entangled themselves in many sorrows."[1] Two of the facts recorded by St. John allow us to catch sight of the psychological process undergone by Judas, before he became a traitor to Christ. A year before the Passion he had shown himself so antagonistic in mind and disposition that Jesus had called him a devil,[2] i.e., an "adversary," "hostile" in his tendency. His behavior when Mary anointed our Lord in Bethany[3] revealed his avaricious and hypocritical character, and the question that he addressed to the high priest regarding the payment for his treachery is still further evidence of his avarice. Thus avarice and hypocrisy were the prominent features in the character of Judas, and they led to his downfall. He had followed Jesus, believing Him to be the Messiah expected by the Jews, and hoping that in Him his own mistaken anticipations regarding the Messiah would be realized. Judas differed essentially from the other apostles, in that his selfish craving for earthly riches prevented him almost entirely from appreciating our Lord's teaching, which referred

[1] 1 Tim. vi. 10. [2] John vi. 71, 72. [3] John xii. 1 *et seq.*

to the spiritual benefits of the Messianic Kingdom. When his expectations were disappointed, Judas sought compensation in the wrongful appropriation of the gifts brought by pious women, thus burdening his conscience with grievous sin. He failed to avail himself of the benefit of associating with the Messiah, in order to advance in knowledge and virtue, and the more he rejected this grace, the colder he grew toward his Master, and the more hold did his avarice gain upon him, so that finally he judged everything from the point of view of his own personal advantage. Judas illustrates the truth of the saying: *corruptio optimi pessima.* Knowing that his Master perceived his true character, he could in His company and in that of the other apostles only play the hypocrite.

But why did he not thenceforth abandon their society? His continued presence in their midst is psychologically quite explicable. Judas was not a man of lofty ideals, but of a sensual and selfish nature, and such an one can endure even a thorough exposure of his vices, provided that there is some prospect of eventual profit. In this respect he does not stand alone in the history of the human race. He shrewdly calculated that he might still benefit to some extent by remaining with Jesus. Our Lord devoted the last year of His public ministry chiefly to the instruction of the apostles, and spoke to them of the Messianic Kingdom that He was about to establish; of the high position that they were to occupy in it; and of the important duties that they would have to discharge. May not Judas have thought that, after all, his dreams of honors, riches, and power might still come true? He may have found confirmation for his mistaken opinions in the majestic personality of Christ, His sacred dignity and unyielding courage in face of the assaults of His enemies. These things did not suggest to Judas that he should forsake his Master, but rather that he should act his hypocritical part still more carefully. The time to desert Jesus and provide for his own safety had come when he realized, from our Lord's predictions and from the course of events, that he had been thoroughly mistaken in his calculations. His line of action, as the great catastrophe approached, is an illustration of his self-seeking and grasping character too striking ever to be questioned or misinterpreted. By that time Judas cared for nothing but his own safety and welfare,

and saw that it was not enough for him simply to forsake Jesus; his interests required that he should re-establish his reputation among the Jews, who hated him as a follower of Jesus, and, in order to accomplish this, he was willing to betray his Master. He believed that thus he could avert from himself all further suspicion on the part of the Sanhedrists, and secure for himself a safe position in the midst of his own people. This treacherous act, suggested by considerations for his own welfare, might at the same time be made the means of his acquiring a sum of money and thus gratifying his greed for wealth.

A factor contributing to make Judas a traitor was, according to St. Luke, the instigation of Satan. The history of the human race shows plainly that the more a man gives himself up to the gratification of the senses, the more effectual and successful are the suggestions made him by the devil. The selfish, avaricious, and hypocritical disposition of Judas supplied Satan with a very favorable basis for operations, and it is, moreover, obvious that the evil one would employ all his wiles in the case of a man so capable of injuring Jesus. St. Luke uses the word *intrare,* to enter into, which elsewhere denotes the taking possession of a man by an evil spirit, but commentators are almost unanimous in understanding the expression to indicate in this case merely the influence of the devil over the will of Judas.[1] St. Luke says of Satan entering into Judas that this happened when Judas professed himself willing to betray his Master, while St. John[2] states that it was the case when Judas was about to perform his treacherous action; there is, however, no difficulty in reconciling the two statements. St. John refers to a more intense renewal of Satan's influence, in consequence of which Judas became completely his servant, and at once proceeded to betray Christ.[3]

That this is unquestionably the correct interpretation appears from the fact that St. John elsewhere[4] speaks of the devil as putting into the heart of Judas the idea of betraying Jesus.

[1] Jansenius: *Intravit . . . non occupando corpus ejus, sed pessimam venditionis voluntatem inspirando.*

[2] John xiii. 27.

[3] Corn. à Lap.: *Satanas, qui prius in Judam ingressus est ad proditionem machinandam, hic rursus in eum ingressus est ad eam perficiendam et in opus conferendam.*

[4] John xiii. 2.

When therefore Judas had agreed with the high priests to hand Jesus over to them in return for thirty pieces of silver, he watched for an opportunity of carrying out his design. Great caution was necessary, lest there should be an uproar among the people, either when Jesus was betrayed or when He was handed over to the civil authority. According to the Mosaic law the blood money paid for killing a slave was also thirty shekels, and probably this was the purchase price of a slave. Thus the Lord of life and death was by one of His own disciples valued at the same amount as a slave!

SECTION II

THE PASCHAL FEAST AND THE LAST SUPPER

The following preliminary statements may be made as to the relation between the accounts given by the evangelists. St. Matthew's description of the preparations for, and celebration of, the Paschal feast, and also of the institution of the Eucharist, is in complete agreement — apart from a few minor details — with that given by St. Mark. St. Luke's account of the Last Supper is very brief, yet he presents us with a more vivid picture of it, inasmuch as he fixed more definitely the time when it began, and distinguishes clearly between the Paschal feast and the celebration of the Eucharist. All three synoptic writers mention our Lord's statements regarding His betrayal by Judas, regarding His denial by Peter, and the scandal taken by the apostles. The chief differences in the order of events in the three gospels are: St. Matthew and St. Mark represent our Lord's announcement of His approaching betrayal as having been made *before* the institution of the Eucharist; St. Luke places it *after*. St. Matthew and St. Mark place the prediction of Peter's denial and of the scandal of the apostles after saying that our Lord and His apostles had left the supper room; St. Luke writes as though He was still in it when He mentioned these things.

Peculiar to St. Luke's gospel are statements of the following predictions: the strife for precedence among the apostles, our Lord's prayer for Simon Peter, the persecution of the apostles. St. John's account differs considerably from those of the synoptic evangelists. He does not allude to the celebration of the Eucharist; this omission is due to the fact that he had recorded in great detail the promise of its institution. He has the following points in common with the other evangelists: the announcement of the betrayal, where he expands, and adds to, the other accounts; the announcement of Peter's denial, which, however, is mentioned in more general terms, — there is

no allusion to scandal taken by the rest of the apostles. On the other hand, St. John alone records things that took place during the Last Supper, thus adding completeness to the other accounts, and, when all are taken together, they present us with a clear picture of what occurred that evening. The following is a list of the incidents recorded *only* in the Fourth Gospel:

I. The Washing of the Apostles' Feet and the Words Uttered by Jesus During the Ceremony, xiii. 1–20.

II. Other Words Addressed by Our Lord to the Apostles, viz.:

1. The Promise of the Holy Ghost, the Paraclete, xiv. 1–31.
2. The Parable of the Vine and its Fruit, xv. 1–17.
3. The Hatred and Sinfulness of the World, xv. 18–27.
4. Triumph of the Apostles over the Sinful World, xvi. 1–33.
5. Prayer for the Disciples, xvii. 1–26.

I. Time and Place of the Paschal Supper

Matthew xxvi. 17–20

17. And on the first day of the Azymes the disciples came to Jesus saying: Where wilt thou that we prepare for thee to eat the pasch?
18. But Jesus said: Go ye into the city to a certain man, and say to him: The master saith, My time is near at hand, with thee I make the pasch with my disciples.
19. And the disciples did as Jesus appointed to them, and they prepared the pasch.
20. But when it was evening he sat down with his twelve disciples.

Mark xiv. 12–17

12. Now on the first day of the unleavened bread when they sacrificed the pasch, the disciples say to him: Whither wilt thou that we go, and prepare for thee to eat the pasch?
13. And he sendeth two of his disciples, and saith to them: Go ye into the city; and there shall meet you a man carrying a pitcher of water, follow him:
14. And whithersoever he shall go in, say to the master of the house, The master saith, Where is my refectory, where I may eat the pasch with my disciples?
15. And he will shew you a large dining-room furnished; and there prepare ye for us.
16. And his disciples went their way; and came into the city; and they found as he had told them, and they prepared the pasch.
17. And when evening was come, he cometh with the twelve.

Luke xxii. 7–14

7. The day of the unleavened bread came, on which it was necessary that the pasch should be killed.
8. And he sent Peter and John, saying: Go and prepare for us the pasch, that we may eat.
9. But they said: where wilt thou that we prepare?
10. And he said to them: Behold, as you go into the city, there shall meet you a man carrying a pitcher of water: follow him into the house where he entereth in.
11. And you shall say to the good man of the house: The master saith to thee: Where is the guest-chamber, where I may eat the pasch with my disciples?
12. And he will shew you a large dining-room furnished: and there prepare.
13. And they going, found as he said to them, and made ready the pasch.
14. And when the hour was come he sat down and the twelve apostles with him.

The day on which the order was given to make preparations for the Pasch. According to St. Matthew the order was given on the first day of the azymes, or week of unleavened bread. During the whole octave of the Paschal festival the Jews were required by the law of God[1] to eat unleavened bread. The 15th of Nisan, beginning the evening of the 14th, was therefore the first day of unleavened bread, and this day is termed in the Mosaic Law *the feast,* or *solemnity,* of unleavened bread. "And the fifteenth day of the same month is the solemnity of the unleavened bread of the Lord."[2] From the time of the second Temple, however, the 14th day of Nisan was reckoned as the first day of unleavened bread, because on that day at noon everything leavened was burnt, and custom permitted the eating of none but unleavened bread. In Galilee people refrained from servile work during the whole day, and in Judea they did so at least from noon onwards. In the afternoon of the 14th of Nisan the Paschal lamb was slain, and all preparations were made for keeping the festival.[3]

This custom accounts for the fact that Flavius Josephus speaks in one place of seven[4] and in another of eight[5] days of unleavened bread.

A cogent argument in support of the theory that the day mentioned by the evangelists as the first of the unleavened bread was the 14th and not the 15th of Nisan, is derived from the fact that the same day is specified as that on which the Jews slew, and were ordered to slay, the Paschal lamb. As will be seen further on, the lambs were killed in the Temple in the course of the 14th of Nisan, generally at about three o'clock in the afternoon, and according to the Mishna, were required to be taken to the various houses and roasted before nightfall.[6] The Paschal lamb was therefore already killed when that part of the 14th of Nisan began, which was, according to Jewish liturgical terminology, the commencement of the 15th day. Hence it is quite certain that it was on the 14th of Nisan that our Saviour gave His instructions for the preparation of the Paschal feast.

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[1] Exod. xii. 5 *seqq.* [2] Levit. xxiii. 6. [3] Bynaeus, I, 6, 2.
[4] Ant. iii. 5, 10. [5] Ant. ii. 15, 1.
[6] Mishna, Pesachim, 5, 10: *si tenebrae oborirentur exibant et assaban pascha suum.*

The time of day when the instructions were given. The following considerations suggest that the instructions were given early in the morning on the 14th of Nisan: 1. It would take some time to find a suitable place for the feast and to procure everything necessary for it. 2. The presence of the water-carrier, mentioned by Mark and Luke, indicates an early hour, for in the East it was the custom to fetch the needful supply of water either in the evening or in the morning, when it was cool. 3. St. Luke's expression, "When the day of the unleavened bread came," seems to favor this theory.

The carrying out of the instructions. Matthew and Mark speak as though the proposal to prepare the Paschal feast proceeded from the disciples; according to Luke, however, Jesus Himself commissioned Peter and John to make preparations. The statements may be reconciled thus: First of all, the apostles asked where the Pasch was to be eaten; Jesus answered by giving instructions to the two apostles, who in their turn asked where the preparations were to be made. They were then sent to the city to discover the appointed house and to make all arrangements necessary for celebrating the festival. Mark and Luke state emphatically that our Saviour did not mention the householder by name, but told the apostles how they might recognize the house and its occupant. It is of course true that Jerusalem was crowded during the Pasch, and that in the early morning people thronged to the wells to draw water, but the authenticity of the detail recorded by Mark and Luke can be questioned only by those who deny our Lord's omniscience and dispute God's guidance of events. St. Matthew says that Christ told the apostles to go into the city "to a certain man." These words are used because the evangelist omits to record the means whereby the unnamed householder was to be recognized. The reason why Jesus refrained from mentioning the man's name, and gave only apparently vague indications of his identity, is stated in general terms by Maldonatus, who says: *Christum propterea hominem non nominasse, ut melius rebus, quam nomine describeret, eaque ratione clarius divinitatem suam ostenderet . . . cum dicit: et occurret . . . declarat, se futurum praescire et omnia esse divino consilio ad mortem suam quodammodo praeparata.* Many commentators think that the householder's name was not

mentioned in order to prevent Judas from ascertaining too soon the place where the Pasch was to be eaten, and to ensure the uninterrupted celebration of the festival.

Jews from the country and from abroad received hospitality in Jerusalem during the Paschal season, and householders were in the habit of offering rooms gratis to those who wished to eat the Pasch. In the way of compensation for this courtesy the skin of the Paschal lamb and the peace offerings were made over to the host. With reference to the man at whose house Jesus ate the Last Supper, the following indications may be gathered from the gospels. He was probably well-to-do, because he placed a large room at the disposal of our Lord and His friends. He was undoubtedly one of Christ's followers, because he complied at once with the request, as soon as he heard the words, "the Master saith." There is no difficulty here, for we know from St. John's gospel[1] that Jesus had many disciples in Jerusalem. From the wording of the message that the two apostles had to deliver, we may infer that Jesus had previously made arrangements with this man for celebrating the Pasch at his house. What was his name? We cannot agree with Nicephorus[2] in thinking that it was St. John the apostle who, according to tradition, owned a house on Mount Sion, for St. John was one of the two sent to find out this man. St. Jerome[3] suggests that the Upper Room may have been in the house of Mary, mother of John Mark, where Christians subsequently used to assemble for the worship of God.[4] Others think that the householder was Nicodemus, or Joseph of Arimathea. We shall return to this topic later on.

The beginning of the Paschal feast. According to the synoptic gospels the feast was held on the evening of the day on which orders were given for its preparation. Matthew and Mark say that it began in the evening; Luke says, "when the hour was come." The Mosaic Law required the Pasch to be eaten during the evening of the 14th of Nisan. If, in conformity with Jewish custom, the lamb was roasted at nightfall, the feast would begin at 6 or 7 o'clock in the evening. As it was on the first day of unleavened bread when Jesus celebrated the Pasch, we can assign dates to the following episodes in His Passion: Jesus ate the Last Supper with His disciples on the 14th of Nisan; He was crucified on the 15th; He lay in the tomb during the 16th, and rose again on the morning of the 17th. These things took place on Thursday, Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, if we reckon by the days of the week.

The sacrificial character of the Lord's Supper. This is indicated by the fact that the supper was held on the day appointed by law, and also by the evangelist's explicit statements. The

[1] vii. 13; xi. 48.
[2] H. E. 1, 28.
[3] Ep. 16.
[4] Acts xii. 12.

apostles asked their Master where they were to prepare the Pasch:[1] the meal that they prepared is described as the Pasch,[2] and was so called by our Lord Himself.[3] Nothing but the difficulty of harmonizing the various accounts has led some commentators to suppose, contrary to the positive testimony of the synoptic evangelists, that the supper was an ordinary meal, and not the solemn celebration of the Jewish Pasch, which was a sacrificial banquet.

According to the law, the Jews ate the Paschal lamb on the evening of the 14th of Nisan, and kept the 15th as a great festival. It is a debated question, to which very different answers have been given, whether Jesus celebrated the Pasch on the same day as the Jews in general, and was crucified on a great Jewish festival, or whether for some unknown reason in that particular year both solemnities were postponed for a day, so that the Jews ate the Paschal lamb on the 15th of Nisan (our Good Friday) and celebrated their festival on the 16th (our Holy Saturday). We cannot assume that Jesus anticipated the celebration of the Pasch, because it is impossible to show that the 13th of Nisan could be called the first day of unleavened bread.

The law required the Pasch to be celebrated on the evening of the 14th of Nisan. As has already been shown, that was the first day of unleavened bread, and, according to the synoptic gospels, it was on that day, too, that the supper was prepared by the disciples and eaten by them in the company of Jesus. Any doubt regarding the identification of the first day of unleavened bread with the 14th of Nisan, the day appointed by the law for celebrating the Pasch, seems precluded by the expressions used by Mark and Luke: "the first day of the unleavened bread when they sacrificed the Pasch," "the day of the unleavened bread came, on which it was necessary that the Pasch should be killed." The advocates of the anticipation hypothesis think that Jesus ate the Pasch a day earlier than the Jews, doing so on the 13th of Nisan, and they assume that this day, or at least the evening of it, was the first day of the unleavened bread. It is important to notice, however, that there is no his-

[1] Matthew xxvi. 17; Mark xiv. 12; Luke xxii. 7.
[2] Matthew xxvi. 19; Mark xiv. 16; Luke xxii. 13.
[3] Luke xxii. 15.

torical justification at all for the first part of this hypothesis, and the second part has no weight, because the evangelists speak of the morning, not the evening, of the day on which Jesus ate the Pasch, as the first day of unleavened bread.

The sacrificial mode of killing the Paschal lambs supports the theory that Jesus kept the feast on the legally appointed day, together with all the Jews. The lambs had to be killed at a fixed time in the Temple, as the place which the Lord had chosen that His name might dwell there.[1] Bynaeus argues that Jesus ate a Paschal lamb slain in the Temple at the regular time, because the priests would certainly not have allowed one to be killed at any other hour. Haneberg thinks it questionable whether it was not under certain conditions permissible to kill the Paschal lamb in a private house. He is inclined to think that it must have been allowed, because of the enormous number of lambs required to supply half a million people, but he is forced to acknowledge his inability to refer to any ancient writer in support of this assumption.

A further reason for believing our Lord to have kept the Pasch at the same time as the Jews may be discovered in St. Luke's account of the disciples at Emmaus.[2] On the day of the Resurrection they walked from Jerusalem to Emmaus, a distance of 7½ miles, and reached Emmaus as twilight was setting in; so they must have left Jerusalem between 2 and 3 o'clock in the afternoon. If the Jews had kept the Pasch a day later than Jesus, the Resurrection would have taken place on the second day of the festival, and that day was, like the great day of atonement, observed as a Sabbath, so that the two disciples could not, in consequence of rabbinical restrictions regarding a Sabbath day's journey, have started on so long a walk early in the afternoon.

Since, then, the synoptic accounts of the date of the Last Supper can be understood only of the 14th of Nisan, it seems impossible to assume that Jesus anticipated the usual celebration of the festival. The only question to be decided is, whether the Jews had postponed it to the 15th and 16th of Nisan. The arguments derived from the New Testament in support of the theory of postponement may be divided into two classes: 1. The accounts of the Passion, as given by the evangelists,

[1] Deut. xvi. 6.

[2] Luke xxiv. 13 *sqq.*

contain no suggestion that our Lord was put to death on a festival, but their allusions to the proceedings against Jesus show plainly that He suffered on an ordinary working-day; 2. Several passages in St. John's gospel seem to indicate that the first day of the Jewish Pasch followed our Lord's Crucifixion. These difficulties must be examined and criticized separately.

The arguments of the first class, which seem to support the theory that the Jews postponed the celebration of the festival, may be stated as follows: The day of our Lord's Passion cannot have coincided with the first day of the Pasch, because in that case Jesus would have been forbidden to walk to the Mount of Olives, and His arrest by armed men, His trial and execution, would all have been prohibited by the law regulating the observance of the festival. In answer to these arguments it is pointed out very aptly that the Jews regarded all their proceedings against Jesus as actions performed in God's service, not as secular business, and consequently they would not constitute any breach of discipline. Our Lord had foretold [1] that the insane fury of the Jews would lead them to think that by killing His disciples they were doing service to God. If His enemies were already actuated by this thought, the fulfillment of His prophecy began on the day of His Passion. This hypothesis appears the more probable if we remember that frequently, during our Lord's public ministry, regard for the Sabbath failed to restrain the Jews from acts of violence against Him. It was on a Sabbath that the Pharisees and Herodians took counsel to destroy Him; [2] on a Sabbath they dragged Him out of Nazareth, and tried to throw Him over the brow of the hill,[3] and on the feast of the dedication of the Temple [4] they tried to ensnare Him. The manner in which the Sanhedrin decided upon the arrest and execution of Christ shows that the sanctity of the festival would have been no obstacle to the carrying out of the decision to put Him to death.[5] These considerations seem to suggest that it is unsafe to lay too much stress upon arguments based on the sacred character of the first day of the Pasch. Such arguments are the following.

The first is: If Jesus kept the Pasch on the 14th of Nisan, He would not, according to the Law,[6] have been at liberty to leave the supper room immediately after supper, and go to the Mount of Olives, but He would have had to remain there until the morning. It may, however, be pointed out that if the legal prohibition to leave the supper room before morning was still in force, it would have been equally binding had Jesus eaten the Paschal feast on the preceding day. But it is inaccurate to assume that this rule held good after the exodus from Egypt; certain ceremonies prescribed for the first Pasch, celebrated in Egypt, were to be observed only on that occasion; such were the smearing of the doorposts with the blood of the lamb, eating its flesh in a state of readiness for departure, and remaining within the house until the following morning.[7] It was quite legitimate for Jesus to go to Gethsemani after supper, for, according to the law, the Paschal supper could even be eaten in Bethphage, which was still further away from Jeru-

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[1] John xvi. 2.
[2] Compare Mark iii. 6 with iii. 1.
[3] Luke iv. 14–30.
[4] John x. 22.
[5] Compare Matthew xxvi. 4 *seqq.*, and the explanation on page 8.
[6] Exod. xii. 22.
[7] Bynaeus, II, 1, 9.

salem.[1] It has been stated that no action on the part of armed men was permissible during the night of the 14th of Nisan, because the first day of the festival had already begun, and the Jews were forbidden to carry arms on the Sabbath and on feast days. It is true that servile work could not be done on the first day of the Pasch, for the law is explicit on that point.[2] "Seven days shall you eat unleavened bread; the first day shall be most solemn unto you and holy; you shall do no servile work therein"; but the same law which forbade the preparation of food on the Sabbath[3] permitted it on the Paschal festival.[4] Hence the rule was laid down that the observance of a festival was alike to that of the Sabbath, with the only exception that on the former food might lawfully be prepared, and on the Sabbath it might not. *Non est differentia inter diem festum et diem Sabbati, nisi in edulibus tantum.*[5] As early a writer as Maimonides remarks, however, that this was the view taken by the stricter school of Shammai, whereas the laxer followers of Hillel went much further: *haec est opinio scholae Schammai, sed opinio scholae Hillelis est, quod multae dantur res citra esum, quae licitae sunt die festo et vetitae die Sabbati.* When we consider that opinions were divided among the rabbis as to the lawfulness of carrying water on the Sabbath, one school declaring it to be altogether unlawful, another pronouncing it merely unseemly; when we remember that in their wars with the Romans the Jews often had recourse to offensive as well as defensive warfare[6] on the Sabbath: and when, finally, we take into consideration the fact that the Jews regarded the arrest of Jesus, who was said to despise the law of Moses, as a good work, pleasing in God's sight, we cannot be surprised that they went out armed on the night of the 14th of Nisan.

A further argument is this: According to the section in the Mishna known as Bezah or Yom tob, and dealing with the observance of festivals, the courts of justice were closed both on the Sabbath and on festivals.[7] Hence Jesus could not have kept the Pasch on the 14th of Nisan, when the Jews kept it, because that would mean that legal proceedings had been taken against Him on the first day of the festival. The same objection can, however, be raised if it be assumed that Jesus celebrated His Pasch one day earlier; for, as the Jewish regulations regarding judicial proceedings required a death sentence to be pronounced a whole day after the trial, such cases could not be dealt with on the eve of a Sabbath or of a festival.[8]

On the other hand, it should be noted that in the treatise on the sanctification of the Sabbath,[9] there is contained a list of 39 occupations forbidden on that day, but trying prisoners is not one of them. Moreover, although in the Bezah, as already said, judicial procedure is mentioned as forbidden, Maimonides states the reason for this prohibition to be that a sentence could not be recorded in writing on the Sabbath. It seems, therefore, that to take judicial action was not forbidden even on the Sabbath or on festi-

[1] Tract. de minist. templi Hieros., c. xii. On the latter point Lightfoot quotes the following passage from Tosaphta, Tractatus Pesachim: *Ubi comederunt pascha in Aegypto, ibi etiam pernoctare debuerunt, sed posterioribus temporibus comedebant id in uno loco et pernoctabant in alio.*
[2] Levit. xxiii. 6, 7.
[3] Exod. xxxv. 2, 3.
[4] Exod. xii. 16.
[5] Mishna, Tract. Bezah, v. 2.
[6] Flav. Jos. B. J. II. 17, 10; 19, 2.
[7] Bezah, v. 2.
[8] Sanhedrin, IV, 1.
[9] Schabbat, VII, 2.

vals. That such action was actually taken somewhat frequently we may infer from the fact that, according to the Talmud, there was a special place where the Sanhedrin met on these days: *in sabbatis et in diebus festis considebant in antemurali*[1] (a building situated between the outer and the inner courts of the Temple).

On the first day, it is argued, no preparations could be made for an execution, nor could an execution have taken place; but we must bear in mind that the executioners were Roman soldiers, free from any obligation to observe the Jewish law. According to the Talmud it was not only permissible, but under certain circumstances advisable, to carry out a death sentence on a festival, in cases where a public execution might have a deterrent effect upon the people assembled for the feast. This rule was based upon the following passage in the law: "He that will be proud, and refuse to obey the commandment of the priest, who ministereth at that time to the Lord thy God, and the decree of the judge; that man shall die, and thou shalt take away the evil from Israel. And all the people hearing it shall fear, that no one afterwards swell with pride."[2] Regarding the action taken against such an offender, Rabbi Akiba said: *non occiditur a judicibus civitatis sua; non a Synedrio, quod Jabne est, sed ad summum senatum Hierosolymam deducitur atque istic in custodia asservatur usque ad festum et in festo interficitur; quia dicitur: et totus populus audiet et timebunt, neque amplius praefracte agent.*[3] Wünsche[4] thinks that the rule just quoted is not applicable to the case of our Lord, because it is limited to that of an elder rebelling against the decision of the Council, and not recognized as universal. This remark is, however, partly inaccurate, and partly not to the point. In order to explain a fact recorded in the Bible, it cannot do any good to quote a general regulation laid down by Jewish doctors; it is more important to know that famous Jewish rabbis considered it permissible in certain cases to let a death sentence be carried out on a festival, and they justified their opinion on this subject by reference to the law of Moses.

There are other arguments, derived from the synoptic gospels, against the theory that Jesus celebrated the Pasch at the same time as the Jews; these will be discussed further on. Among other things it is said that Simon of Cyrene was apparently returning from work in the fields when Jesus was led out to the place of crucifixion, and also that, after our Lord's burial, the women purchased spices and perfumes on the same day.

Moreover, some positive statements occur in the fourth gospel which seem to show that the Jews ate their Paschal supper a day later, so that in the year of the Crucifixion the first day of the Pasch coincided with the Sabbath. In order to support this theory we must refer to what is called the transference hypothesis, which was propounded long ago by Maldonatus,[5] and has been revived recently by Knabenbauer and others. According to this hypothesis, in the year of the Crucifixion, although the 15th of Nisan fell on a Friday, the Jews did not observe that day but the following one as the first day of the Pasch, in order to prevent the festival and the Sabbath from falling on two consecutive days. This transference would necessitate a corresponding postponement of the Paschal supper. Jesus is said to have disregarded the alteration made by the Jews in the date of the festival, and celebrated the Pasch on the day appointed by the law. At first sight this theory appears attractive and likely to remove various difficulties. The fol-

[1] Sanhedrin, c. 10. [2] Deut. xvii. 12, 13. [3] Sanhedrin, x. 4.
[4] Neue Beiträge zu Matth. xxvi. 5. [5] Comm. in Matth. xxvi. 2.

lowing passages in the fourth gospel are those believed to indicate a change made by the Jews in the date of the Pasch. St. John is understood to say plainly that Jesus partook of the Paschal supper "*before* the festival day of the pasch,"[1] also that the Jews avoided the Praetorium on the day of our Lord's Passion, "that they might not be defiled, but that they might eat the pasch."[2] These passages make it quite clear that at the time of Christ's condemnation and crucifixion the Jews had not yet eaten their Paschal supper. Again, St. John says that our Lord died on "the parasceve [i.e., the "preparation"] of the Pasch,"[3] and this expression can only signify that on the Friday the Jews were making all preparations for the festival that they were about to celebrate on the following day, which was a Sabbath. Further confirmation of this theory seems to be derived from St. John's description of that day as "a great sabbath."[4] It is assumed that the Sabbath after our Lord's death and burial could be termed *great* only if it coincided with the Paschal Sabbath, i.e., the first day of the Paschal festival. As all the passages quoted above will, with the exception of the first, be discussed and explained in the course of the history of the Passion, we may here restrict ourselves to a consideration of the first point.

In the passage in question, the words "before the festival day of the Pasch" belong, grammatically, to the token of love which Jesus, having reached the end of His life, gave His disciples when He washed their feet.[5] The words are an indication of the time when all the events connected with that washing took place. Now commentators are almost unanimous in identifying the supper, mentioned by St. John, at which our Lord washed the apostles' feet, with the Paschal supper described in the synoptic gospels. It was not an ordinary meal eaten the day before the Pasch celebrated by Christ.[6] St. John therefore asserts that our Lord's Pasch, which according to the synoptic evangelists was celebrated on the evening of the 14th of Nisan, was eaten *before* the festival day of the Pasch. This statement is regarded as proving that Jesus and the Jews did not keep the Pasch at the same time, but that either our Lord anticipated the date or the Jews postponed their celebration; in other words, either Jesus kept the Pasch on the 13th and the Jews on the 14th, or Jesus on the 14th and the Jews on the 15th of Nisan. This difficulty in St. John's account has been explained in many different ways. Patrizi[7] and others think that the evangelist was writing primarily for Christian converts from Paganism, who were accustomed to the Greek and Roman reckoning of time, in which the evening formed part of the same and not of the following day. They believe that in the fourth gospel it is possible to find other indications showing that St. John reckoned days and hours according to the Roman, not the Jewish, fashion. There is, however, no need to insist upon this rather doubtful point, because St. John's statement of time, if regarded as an ordinary Biblical expression, can easily be reconciled with those of the synoptic writers. It is important to notice that St. John says, not "before the Pasch," but "before the festival day of the Pasch." As far as I have been able to ascertain, the younger Jansenius[8] was the first to draw attention to this fact, and to the distinction, existing even in the Old Testament, between the day of the Pasch and the festival. He writes: *non dicit: ante pascha, nam haec ablutio pedum facta est*

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[1] John xiii. 1.
[2] John xviii. 28.
[3] John xix. 14.
[4] John xix. 31.
[5] John xiii. 4 *seqq.*
[6] Thus Hugo Grotius, Bynaeus, and others.
[7] De Evang. iii. 50, 23.
[8] Comm. in Joannem, xiii. 1.

paschate jam inchoato, . . . sed dicit: ante diem festum paschae, seu ante lucem festivitatis paschalis. Many modern commentators[1] follow Jansenius and refer to the same passages in support of this view. We read in Leviticus:[2] "The first month, the fourteenth day of the month at evening, is the phase of the Lord; and the fifteenth day of the same month is the solemnity of the unleavened bread." And in Numbers:[3] "In the first month, on the fourteenth day of the month, shall be the phase of the Lord, and on the fifteenth day the solemn feast." These two passages show that in the Old Testament a distinction was made between the evening of the 14th of Nisan, when the Pasch was celebrated, and the 15th; the latter day alone being called a "solemnity" or "solemn feast." We must notice further that in both places the Septuagint describes the 15th of Nisan as ἑορτή, and St. John uses the same word in the passage under discussion. If St. John adhered to this distinction between the 14th and 15th of Nisan, he could certainly say that the supper took place before the festival day of the Pasch, i.e., before the 15th of Nisan. It only remains to prove that St. John really made this permissible distinction between the Pasch and the festival, and that his expression "before the festival day of the Pasch" may really be understood of the evening before the 15th of Nisan. The proof may be found in St. John's own gospel. When Judas suddenly left the Supper Room, the apostles thought that he had gone to execute a commission for his Master, and to make purchases "for the festival day" (ἑορτή), or to give something to the poor.[4] They could not have supposed that he was at night making purchases for the festival, unless that festival began the next morning, so that only the night was left for necessary preparations. Some commentators have, it is true, tried to deduce an opposite conclusion from the disciples' assumption. Because the evening of the 14th of Nisan was part of the first day of the festival, it must, they say, have been too holy for purchases, such as Judas would have made, to be allowed on it. On the other hand, as we have already seen, the observance of the Sabbath day was much stricter than that of a festival, and the eve of a feast day was regarded as less sacred than the day itself.

We have already alluded briefly to various hypotheses, formed with a view to solving the difficulties in the gospel accounts of our Lord's Passion, regarding the date of His Paschal supper. These hypotheses may be arranged as follows:

1. *The so-called transference hypothesis.* According to this the 15th of Nisan, the first day of the Paschal festival, fell in the year of the Crucifixion on a Friday, but was transferred by the Jews to the following day, the 16th of Nisan, and the Paschal supper was consequently not eaten until the evening of the 15th. This transference is assumed to have taken place in order that the first day of the festival and the Sabbath might not fall on two consecutive days. Jesus and His disciples, however, are supposed to have adhered to the day appointed by the law, and to have celebrated the Pasch on the evening of the 14th. Attempts have been made to find a justification for this hypothesis in the later Jewish calendars, according to which the first day of the Paschal festival was never observed on a Monday, Wednesday, or Friday. It has already been pointed out that there is no positive evidence of any such transference in the time before the Talmud, and that the acceptance of such a theory does not remove existing difficulties.

[1] Langen, Tholuck, Luthardt, Keil, and others.
[2] xxiii. 5, 6.
[3] xxviii. 16, 17.
[4] John xiii. 29.

2. Many other commentators have put forward the so-called *anticipation hypothesis*,[1] which differs from the former on the following points. It assumes that the Jews celebrated the Paschal supper on the 14th of Nisan and observed the 15th as the first day of the festival, but that Jesus celebrated the Pasch on the evening of the 13th and was crucified on the 14th. Two features characteristic of this argument are: (1) that the fourth gospel fixes the Paschal supper as held on the 13th of Nisan, and (2), that the synoptic writers intentionally used obscure language in speaking of the date of the Last Supper.

3. Others again think that there was a double celebration of the Paschal festival. Their arguments may be stated briefly thus: The beginning of the month was determined, not by astronomical calculations, but by direct observation of the first appearance of the new moon, and as this observation had to be made known by means of signals and of messengers, there was some danger lest there should be the difference of a day in the beginning of the month between Jerusalem and outlying districts, and hence in the celebration of festivals. To avert this danger, at least in some degree, the chief festivals were observed during two days, in order that all Jews might participate in the celebration, even though their reckoning of the date were different. In the year of our Lord's crucifixion, the Galileans began the month Nisan a day earlier than the Jews in Jerusalem, and consequently they would have begun their Paschal festival a day sooner. It is assumed that Jesus adhered to the Galilean reckoning. Apart from the fact that there is no evidence of any such duplication of great festivals among the Jews, this hypothesis looks like a makeshift device for the removal of the existing difficulties.

A new attempt at a solution was made by Professor Chwolson of St. Petersburg in an essay *Das letzte Abendmahl Christi u. der Tag seines Todes*, published in the *Mémoire de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersburg*, Série VII, Tom. 41, p. 37 ff.: If the 14th of Nisan fell on a Friday, the slaughtering and sacrificing of lambs in the temple took place on Thursday (13th of Nisan), because it was considered illicit to do this in the evening-twilight before the Sabbath, and the roasting of the lambs was made impossible. The eating of the Pasch, however, as a private affair, took place either on the 13th or the 14th of Nisan, according to the various interpretations of the law. A criticism in the *Guardian*, June 28, 1893, tends to show that this leaves the crucial question just where it was. A later contribution is that of G. M. Semeria, *Le Jour de la Mort de Jésus*, Rev. Bibl. 1896.

From a very early period Christians observed the anniversaries of our Lord's Passion and Death. It can be proved that even in the 4th century the Thursday of Holy Week was kept by the Church. On that day St. John Chrysostom delivered a sermon, which is still extant, in which he spoke of the institution of the most holy Eucharist, and alluded to Judas's treachery. In commemoration of the Eucharist this day was called by ancient authors *Dies panis* or *Natalis calicis*. In the liturgical books of the Western Church it is termed *coena Domini*, or *Feria V in coena Domini*, in memory of the institution of the Blessed Sacrament of the altar. Another name given to it was *dies viridium*. The most probable explanation of this name is that on this day grievous sinners, who had done penance during Lent, received absolution and were re-admitted to the Church, so that, to use our Lord's expression,[2] they ceased to be dry wood and became green wood again.

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[1] See Langen, 77 *seqq.*

[2] Luke xxiii. 31.

The Friday of Holy Week is called by St. John Chrysostom ἡ ἁγία καὶ μεγάλη παρασκευή, and by St. Augustine *dies dominicae passionis.* The following Saturday was known as τὸ μέγα σάββατον. In the liturgical books the whole week is called *hebdomada major* or *sancta;* the former name indicates its importance to our salvation, the latter expresses its significance in the religious life of man.

The place where the Pasch was celebrated. According to a very old tradition the Supper Room was situated on the southwestern side of Mount Sion. The Christians honored the spot where the Holy Ghost came down upon the apostles by building upon it the first church erected in Jerusalem. This ancient church was called *Sancta Sion,* the church of the apostles, and the mother of all churches. In his catechetical discourses, delivered about 348 A.D. in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, St. Cyril says: "We acknowledge the Holy Ghost, who spake by the prophets, and at Pentecost came down upon the apostles in the form of tongues of fire here in the upper church of the apostles at Jerusalem."[1] In the fifth century a great basilica was built on the same site, containing also the so-called *Dormitio Mariae,* namely, the house of St. John the Evangelist, only a few steps distant from the Supper Room. This church was subsequently destroyed, and the holy places underwent various vicissitudes, until at last, in the year 1547, they passed out of the hands of the Franciscans (who had been in possession of them for about two hundred years), into those of Moslems, who built the mosque En Nebj Däûd (of the prophet David) on the site of the Supper Room. The *Dormitio Mariae,* situated a little to the west of this mosque, was presented by the Sultan to William II, then Emperor of Germany, who by a document dated October 30th, 1898, put it at the disposal of the German Palestine Association, and it is now in the hands of the Belgian Benedictines.

II. The Jewish Paschal Supper; its Sacrificial Character

As our Divine Saviour instituted the most holy Eucharist in connection with the Jewish Pasch, a short account of the mode of celebrating the Paschal supper is here in order, so that we may be able to follow the course of events on this sacred evening.[2]

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[1] Catech. 16, 4: ἀνωτέρα τῶν ἁποστόλων ἐκκλησία.
[2] Bynaeus, I, c. 6 and 7; Kirchenlexikon, 4, 45–47.

Certain necessary preparations had to be made for the Paschal supper, the first being the removal from the house of all leaven and the baking of the unleavened bread, which was eaten throughout the whole octave of the feast, and not merely at the Paschal supper. During the night between the 13th and 14th of Nisan, careful search was made, by the light of an oil lamp, for every trace of leavened bread, and this was burnt at noon on the 14th with special ceremonies. Thenceforth nothing leavened might be eaten, and the law required unleavened bread to be eaten at the Pasch, on the evening of the 14th. This explains, as has already been pointed out, why people spoke sometimes of seven, and sometimes of eight days of unleavened bread.[1] There were seven days according to the law that ordered unleavened bread to be eaten from the evening of the 14th until the 21st of Nisan; there were eight days of the azymes, because it was a universal custom to eat nothing leavened after midday on the 14th. Great importance was attached to the preparation of the Paschal lamb, which had to be without blemish, a male, one year old. It was selected on the 10th of Nisan, kept apart from the other lambs, and carefully tended until it was killed.[2] The law of Moses required the lamb to be killed[3] at sunset on the 14th of Nisan,[4] but it was the custom to begin killing the lambs about the third hour in the afternoon, as soon as the evening sacrifice had been offered, for on that day this took place earlier than usual.[5] A blast of trumpets indicated that the killing of the lambs had begun in the forecourt of the Temple;[6] as a rule each householder slew his own lamb, but occasionally Levites were employed. The great influx of pilgrims made it difficult to avoid interruptions, so it was found advisable to admit people carrying lambs in three successive groups to the forecourt. The priests took part in the killing, for they stood in two rows to catch the blood in bowls, which were passed from hand to hand to the altar of sacrifice, and poured out at its base. During the ceremony Levites chanted the great Hallel to the sound of trumpets. Each lamb, as soon as it was dead, was skinned and cleaned in the Temple, the tail, the fat of the entrails, the kidneys, and the liver were laid on the altar as a sacrifice, but the rest was carried home and cooked. Pilgrims from a distance generally presented the skin of their lamb to the owner of the house in which they kept the Pasch.

At the Jewish Pasch the following kinds of food were served:

1. The chief dish was the Paschal lamb, roasted at nightfall.[7] It was expressly forbidden by the law to break one of its bones.[8] The lamb being whole and undivided was to symbolize the truth that the Jews were one nation, and shared the full benefit of the divine blessing bestowed upon the Chosen People.[9]

2. The unleavened bread formed an important item of food at the supper and during the whole octave. It was generally of wheaten flour, made into round, thin cakes, without flavor. The cakes were called either azymes, because they were unleavened, or the bread of affliction,[10] because

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[1] Compare Flav. Jos. Ant. ii. 15, 1.
[2] Exod. xii. 5 *et seq.*
[3] Bynaeus, I, 6, 29.
[4] Exod. xii. 6; Deut. xvi. 6; Num. ix. 3.
[5] Mishna, Pesachim, 5, 1. Flav. Jos. B. J. vi. 9, 3.
[6] See Bynaeus, I, 1, 22, 23.
[7] Mishna, Pesachim, c. 5.
[8] Exod. xii. 46.
[9] Compare John xix. 31 *et seq.*
[10] Deut. xvi. 3.

of the hasty preparation of this bread in Egypt under the afflictions suffered there by the Israelites. They were also known as Mazzoth, or clean bread, a name suggestive of their symbolical signification, reminding the Jews of the truth that by their exodus from Egypt and through the law of Moses they had become a new and holy nation, and that each individual was bound to walk before the face of God in purity of heart, free from the leaven of sin and wickedness.[1]

3. A kind of salad was served, consisting of five varieties of bitter-tasting plants.[2] This was intended to be a reminder of the bitterness of the bondage in Egypt.

4. A bowl containing vinegar was placed on the table, so that the bitter leaves might be dipped into it.

5. Wine, which was supplied to the poor at public cost.[3] As a rule, red wine was used; this was mixed with water in the cup, and not beforehand, the proportions being four parts of wine to one of water. The earliest evidence that our Lord mixed water with wine before the consecration occurs in the Apostolic Constitutions[4] regarding the liturgy. This is the reason why the Church orders water to be added to the wine at holy Mass.

6. The last dish was a kind of sweetmeat, made of various fruits, such as dates, figs, almonds, etc., and mixed with wine, vinegar, and cinnamon. It was known as Charoseth, and was of the color of brick. The color of brick was intended to remind the Jews of the hard work they had performed in Egypt, and so to increase their present happiness. Keil thinks that this solid Charoseth had replaced in the course of time a liquid Charoseth into which the food had been dipped. Such a mixture is mentioned by commentators on the Talmud; its place was taken by the bowl of vinegar.

The ritual of the Paschal supper is contained in the so-called Haggadah, which in its essentials undoubtedly dates back to the time of Christ. The law requires a lamb to be killed for each family, but if a family was too small to eat a whole animal, other families could join in the supper.[5] Later on it was usual for not less than ten and not more than twenty persons to partake of one lamb.[6] Only Jews, and Gentile converts who had been circumcised, could lawfully be present at the Paschal supper.[7] There is nothing said in the law regarding women, but Josephus[8] takes their presence for granted, and the Mishna states explicitly that they were admitted to the Pasch.[9] All, even the poor, reclined whilst eating the Paschal supper, in token of having regained their liberty at their departure from Egypt.[10]

The Jews divide the ritual of the Pasch into four parts.

First part. After all had washed their hands the first cup of wine was mixed, and blessed by the master of the house with the following words: "Blessed art Thou, O Lord, our God, Ruler of the World, who didst create the fruit of the vine." Thanks were then offered to God for festivals in general, and for the present Pasch in particular. Thereupon the master of the house drank some of the wine, and handed a first cup to all present. This cup was called the *Kiddush*, or cup of the dedication of the festival. It is uncertain whether in the time of our Lord the practice had arisen of

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[1] 1 Cor. v. 7, 8.
[2] Mishna, Pesachim, 10, 1.
[3] Exod. xii. 3, 4, 21.
[4] Exod. xii. 43–50.
[5] Pesachim, 8, 1.
[6] Exod. xii. 8.
[7] viii. 12.
[8] Flav. Jos. B. J. vi. 9, 3.
[9] B. J. vi. 9, 3.
[10] Pesachim, 10.

handing to each person a separate cup, or whether the one cup was passed round to all present.

The table, on which the various dishes were arranged, was then brought into the room. The master of the house, after again washing his hands, blessed the food, took a part as large as an olive of the bitter herbs, dipped it into the Charoseth (or, according to another account, into vinegar), uttered a thanksgiving for the produce of the earth, and then, after eating this portion of the bitter herbs, passed the dish round to all those present.

Second part. The preliminary to this part was the mixing of the second cup. A son of the house, or someone else, asked the reason for the customs peculiar to that evening, and in reply the master of the house related the story of the departure of the Israelites from Egypt, and explained the significance of each dish served at the supper. The speaker extolled especially God's wonderful dealings with the Jews, saying: "Therefore it is our duty to thank, praise, laud, extol, exalt, magnify, bless, honor and worship Him who hath done all these things for our fathers and for ourselves; He hath brought us out of bondage into freedom; out of oppression to joy, out of mourning to festal gladness, out of darkness to great light, and out of servitude to redemption; therefore let us sing before Him a new song, Alleluia." In response to his invitation all present then sang the first two psalms of the Hallel.[1] At certain important words the cup of wine was raised aloft, and then replaced on the table, and when the psalms were ended the second cup was drunk. This was called the cup of the Haggadah, because it was drunk following the Haggadah, i.e., the narrative of what took place at the time of the exodus from Egypt. After again washing his hands the master of the house took a cake of bread, and broke it in half; then he blessed it, using the regular formula for blessing bread: *Benedictus sit ille qui producit panem e terra;* and after referring to the law requiring none but unleavened bread to be eaten on that day, he ate part of the cake himself, and broke off a little piece for each of those present to eat. The breaking of the one cake signified that the Mazzoth was the bread of sorrow and poverty.

Third part. All washed their hands before this part of the supper, then two prayers were uttered, thanking God for commanding His people to eat the sacrifice and the Paschal lamb. Thereupon all took their places and lay down beside the table. The actual feast began as soon as the master of the house had helped himself to the first piece of the lamb, and the festal rejoicings were then at their height. With the roasted lamb was served the boiled flesh of peace offerings (Chagigah) made during the octave of the Pasch. During the actual meal each person could drink what wine he chose; the ritual did not require any special cup to be handed round. The last mouthful eaten had to be a portion of the Paschal lamb.

Fourth part. Once more all washed their hands, and then the third cup was mixed; this was the chalice of blessing, because the grace after the meal was pronounced immediately before it was drunk. This grace was a prayer thanking and praising God for the food just eaten, and for all His gifts. It concluded with a petition for the speedy coming of the Messianic age: "May the All-Merciful make us worthy of the days of the Messiah and of the life of the world to come." The fourth cup was then mixed, but not drunk until after the second part of the Hallel,[2] for which reason it was

[1] Ps. cxii (*Laudate pueri*) and cxiii. 1–8 (*In exitu Israel*), according to the Hebrew numeration Ps. cxiii and Ps. cxiv.

[2] Ps. cxiii. 9–117, or, in the Hebrew numeration, Ps. cxv. 1–118.

called the cup of the Hallel. The drinking of a fifth cup was not strictly prescribed, but whenever it was drunk, the great Hallel had to be sung. It is uncertain whether this consisted simply of Ps. cxxxv (Vulgate; according to the Hebrew numeration Ps. cxxxvi), which is in the liturgical books called the great Hallel, or whether the preceding gradual psalms also belonged to it. The feasting was not to last later than midnight.

The question whether the Jewish Paschal lamb was a sacrifice, and the Paschal supper a sacrificial meal, can be dealt with shortly. A few writers have for polemical reasons answered in the negative, chiefly in order to have more justification for attacking the Catholic doctrine regarding the sacrifice of the Mass; but at the present time the question is almost universally and properly answered in the affirmative. Moses calls the lamb a Zebach Pesach, i.e., the victim of the passage of the Lord.[1] Moreover, expressions such as "the blood of my victim," "the blood of my sacrifice," show that the Paschal lamb was peculiarly Jehovah's sacrifice.[2] It was so especially because, when it was first offered, it was the foundation of the whole system of sacrifice in the Mosaic law.[3] Josephus calls the Jewish Pasch a "sacrificial banquet."[4] The lamb, after the laying on of hands, had to be slain in the Temple, its blood was poured out on the altar, and certain portions of its body were offered up; all these things point to its having been a sacrifice, but, over and above these facts, we find that both in the Old and New Testaments the verb signifying to kill the Paschal lamb is *θύειν*, which indicates a solemn ceremonial slaying of victims, and is equivalent to our "to sacrifice." Finally, St. Paul could not have spoken of the Pasch as a type of Christ[5] unless it possessed an essentially sacrificial character. The Paschal lamb belonged to a special class of bloody sacrifices, since it was a combination of a sin and of a peace offering. The outpoured blood indicated atonement and reconciliation with God, whilst the subsequent sacrificial feast expressed the delight of intercourse with Him.[6]

Table showing the course of a Jewish Paschal feast and the sequence of events recorded as having taken place at our Lord's Last Supper.

The Paschal Feast	The Last Supper
First Part	
1. All present wash their hands.	
2. The first cup is mixed and blessed.	
3. Thanksgiving for the present festival.	
4. The first cup is drunk.	(Luke xxii. 15–18. Cornely.)
5. The table bearing the Paschal dishes is carried into the room.	
6. The master of the house washes his hands.	

[1] Exod. xii. 27; compare Bynaeus, I, 1, 22.
[2] Exod. xxiii. 18; xxxiv. 25.
[3] Thalhofer, Das Opfer des Alten und Neuen Bundes, 82.
[4] B. J. vi. 9, 3.
[5] 1 Cor. v. 7, compare x. 16 *seqq.*
[6] Thalhofer, 81, 82.

The Paschal Feast	The Last Supper
7. He takes bitter herbs, dips them in vinegar, and gives thanks for the fruits of the field.	
8. He eats the herbs and passes the dish to all present, that they may eat thereof.	
Second Part	
1. The second cup is mixed.	
2. The Haggadah, i.e., the account of the exodus from Egypt, and of the meaning of the feast that is in course of celebration.	
3. Ps. cxii. 1 to Ps. cxiii. 8 is sung.	(Luke xxii. 15–18; Matthew xxvi. 29; Mark xiv. 25.)
4. The second cup is drunk.	
5. After washing his hands, the master of the house blesses the bread and passes it round.	
Third Part	
1. All present wash their hands.	
2. Thanksgiving for the law ordering the Chagigah and the Paschal lamb to be eaten.	
3. Eating the Paschal lamb. Wine is drunk without ritual. The feast must end with a mouthful of the lamb's flesh.	
Fourth Part	
1. All present wash their hands.	Washing of the disciples' feet. Our Lord's words regarding the significance of this act. He twice indicates the traitor (John xiii. 1–22).
2. The third cup is mixed.	Celebration of the Last Supper (Matthew xxvi. 26–28; Mark xiv. 22–24; Luke xxii. 19–20).
3. Thanksgiving after the feast.	
4. The third cup is drunk.	Repeated indication of the traitor, withdrawal of Judas (Matthew xxvi. 21–25; Mark xiv. 18–21; Luke xxii. 21, 22; John xiii. 23–30).
	Dispute for precedence among the disciples (Luke xxii. 23–30).
	Prayer for Simon Peter (Luke xxii. 31–32).
	Peter's denial foretold (Matthew xxvi. 31–35; Mark xiv. 27–31; Luke xxii. 33–34; John xiii. 36–38).
	Prediction of the persecution of the apostles (Luke xxii. 35–38).

The Paschal Feast	The Last Supper
5. The fourth cup is mixed. Ps. cxiii. 9–17 is sung. 6. The fourth cup is drunk. 7. The fifth cup may be mixed and drunk. 8. The great Hallel is sung (Ps. cxxxv. or Ps. cxix–cxxxv).	Further discourse addressed by Jesus to the apostles (John xiv. 1–17, 26). Walk from the Supper Room to the Mount of Olives (Matthew xxvi. 30; Mark xiv. 26; Luke xxii. 39; John (xiv. 31) xviii. 1).

III. Our Lord's Desire for the Paschal Supper

Luke xxii. 14–18	Matthew xxvi. 29	Mark xiv. 25
14. And when the hour was come, he sat down and the twelve apostles with him. 15. And he said to them: With desire I have desired to eat this pasch with you before I suffer. 16. For I say to you that from this time I will not eat it till it be fulfilled in the kingdom of God. 17. And having taken the chalice, he gave thanks and said: Take, and divide *it* among you. 18. For I say to you, that I will not drink of the fruit of the vine, till the kingdom of God come.	29. And I say to you, I will not drink from henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until that day when I shall drink it with you new in the kingdom of my father.	25. Amen I say to you, that I will drink no more of the fruit of the vine, until that day when I shall drink it new in the kingdom of God.

St. Luke alone has recorded the words uttered by our Saviour just before the Paschal Supper, and the same evangelist tells us that Jesus sat down and the twelve apostles with Him, when the hour had come prescribed by the Mosaic law for beginning the meal. According to Jewish custom the lamb was roasted as soon as twilight set in,[1] so the hour was probably six or seven in the evening. During this last night our Lord uttered the discourse recorded in the synoptic gospels, and also the words of consolation and exhortation, as well as the prayer which St. John alone has preserved. The words above quoted from St. Luke formed the introduction to this series of speeches, for the theory that the washing of the apostles' feet, and the words uttered by our Lord during the ceremony,[2] should be placed quite at the beginning of the supper, is unten-

[1] Mishna, Pesachim, 5, 10: *si tenebrae oborirentur exibant et assabant pascha suum.*

[2] John xiii. 1 *seqq.*

able. As soon as Jesus and the apostles had according to custom taken their places at the table, He said: "With desire I have desired to eat this Pasch with you, before I suffer."

Before we can understand the reason for this ardent desire, we must answer the questions: "Had Jesus previously celebrated the Pasch during His public ministry? If so, had the apostles, as such, been present?" — In all probability our Lord visited Jerusalem for the Paschal festival twice before His Passion;[1] whereas He remained in Galilee the third year.[2] There is no ground for assuming that, although He was in Jerusalem on the two occasions, He did not partake of the Paschal supper; on the contrary, His exact observance of the Jewish law in other respects is evidence of His joining in the celebration of this feast, so full of historical and symbolical significance. On the other hand, our Saviour had never before kept the Pasch with his apostles in a body, because on the occasion of the two Paschs He had spent in Jerusalem, they had not yet been called, and the Pasch following their call was passed in Galilee.

Our Lord's keen desire to eat the Pasch with the apostles is partially explained by the circumstance that at this feast, in itself so full of significance, He acted for the first time as head of the household of which His twelve apostles were the members. Moreover, this was to be the farewell banquet, at which He took leave of those who were to remain as His representatives on earth. But the chief reason for His desire is revealed to us by His subsequent words and by the events of the night: Jesus had a great longing for this supper, because thenceforth the types would be replaced by the means of salvation that they had symbolized, and because He was eager to institute before His death the Eucharistic banquet, the sacrifice of the New Testament. Lyranus emphasizes this reason and says: *quia tunc finivit vetus testamentum et inchoavit novum, quod erat sibi in desiderium.*

Jesus alludes to the typical significance of the Paschal supper and to the approaching substitution of reality for type, when He says: "From this time I will not eat it (the Pasch) till it be fulfilled in the Kingdom of God." "The Kingdom of God" in this passage is not Christ's Church on earth, but His Church triumphant in heaven, the Kingdom of fulfillment. That this is the correct interpretation appears from the last verse of this chapter and from the parallel passages in Matthew and Mark. Hence the Jewish Pasch was a type, a dim foreshadow-

[1] John ii. 13; v. 1. [2] John vi. 4.

ing of that joyful and endless feast that the faithful will share with Christ in heaven, when at the end of their earthly course they reach their home above. Upon the Church on earth is bestowed as prelude to this heavenly feast the Holy Eucharist, in which Christ Himself, the Pasch of the New Testament, is received. This was instituted during the Paschal supper so ardently desired by our Lord, and He had described its life-giving effects just a year before, in the synagogue at Capharnaum.[1]

At the Last Supper Jesus took a cup filled with wine, blessed it, and handed it to the disciples, saying: "Take and divide it among you." St. Luke alone in his account of the supper mentions the cup twice, viz., here, and in speaking of the Eucharistic celebration. Commentators are divided in opinion as to the explanation of this peculiarity in St. Luke's story. St. Augustine thinks that in each place St. Luke refers to the Eucharistic chalice, and mentions it twice.[2] Maldonatus[3] follows St. Augustine on this point.

On the other hand it is improbable that Jesus mentioned the same chalice twice in such a short time, and besides, St. Luke's account, though very brief, distinguishes clearly between a cup of wine drunk during the Paschal supper, and the chalice of the Eucharist. We must therefore accept the opinion of most scholars, and distinguish the cup, that St. Luke mentions first, from the Eucharistic chalice, and regard it as one of the cups of wine prescribed by Jewish ritual to be drunk during the Paschal supper.[4]

Various answers are given to the question as to which of the cups prescribed by the Jewish law is here mentioned by St. Luke. The answer depends partly upon that given to the further question: Did the Eucharistic chalice take the place of the third, fourth, or fifth cup drunk according to the ritual of the Paschal supper? Many commentators think that it replaced the fourth cup, but others say that it was the third. It is on the whole probable that the Eucharistic chalice took the place of the third cup

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[1] John vi.

[2] De consens evangel. 3, 2: *quod enim Lucas de calice bis commemoravit, prius antequam panem daret, et deinde postea quam panem dedit, illud quod superius dixit, praeoccupavit.*

[3] Comm. *ad loc.*

[4] Ven. Bede takes this view and writes (Comm. in Lucam): *Et hic calix ad vetus illud pascha, cui finem desiderabat imponere, pertinebat. Quo accepto gratias egit ob hoc nimirum, quia vetera transitura et ventura fuerant omnia nova.*

at the Pasch, and the reference to it in St. Luke points to the beginning of the Jewish supper; hence we are forced to assume that the first cup mentioned by St. Luke was identical with either the first or the second in the Paschal ritual. Bisping[1] and Cornely[2] identify it with the first, but the following considerations tend to show that it was the second, the cup of the Haggadah: According to St. Luke's account the Paschal lamb seems to have been on the table in the supper-room at the time when Jesus began His discourse to His disciples, for He says that He had desired to eat with them this Pasch, i.e., the lamb already served upon the table.

But the roasted lamb and the Chagigah meat and other constituents of the Paschal supper were at that time not brought into the room at all until after the first cup of wine had been drunk.[3] Also our Lord's allusion to the heavenly feast seems to suggest that the food typifying it was already served. Finally, the Jewish Haggadah, conveying information regarding the meaning of the supper, is analogous to our Lord's words about the heavenly feast, as foreshadowed by the Jewish Pasch.

The invitation to the apostles to drink of the chalice handed to them is explained by our Lord in the words: "I say to you, I will not drink of the fruit of the vine, till the kingdom of God come." The same words, with very slight variations, occur also in Matthew and Mark, but in another context. In Luke they precede the account of the Eucharistic supper, in Matthew and Mark they stand immediately after it. Although most commentators are of opinion that these words were not spoken until after the institution of the Eucharist, I prefer to follow Maldonatus, who writes: *Matthaeus et Marcus, non servato, ut saepe faciunt, narrationis ordine, verba, quae ante calicis consecrationem Christus dixerat, post consecrationem posuerunt.*[4] My reasons for taking this view are: 1. There is *a priori* ground for believing St. Luke's chronology to be accurate in this case, because in the introduction to his gospel he promises to state facts in chronological order; 2. this belief gains strength from the fact that St. Luke in his account distinguishes the Jewish Paschal supper from the Holy Eucharist, and records precisely what Jesus said regarding the Paschal supper and cup of wine. St. Matthew and St. Mark were obliged to insert our Lord's words on this subject after their account of the celebration of the Eucharist, because they give no details concerning the Paschal supper. Some commentators

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[1] *ad loc.*
[2] Libri introd. 3, 297.
[3] Compare Bickell, 42.
[4] Comm. ad Matth. xxvi. 29. So also Corn. à Lap., Knabenbauer.

think that our Lord uttered the same words both at the beginning and at the end of the meal.[1]

According to this theory regarding the sequence of events, the expression "fruit of the vine" refers, not to the Eucharistic chalice, but to the Paschal wine. The "Kingdom of God," or, as St. Matthew has it, the "Kingdom of my Father," undoubtedly means the Messianic Kingdom. So far commentators are agreed, but they differ with regard to the Messianic Kingdom. Some think of its beginning, of the institution of the new covenant at the celebration of the Eucharist; others refer to the time spent on earth by our glorified Saviour, others to the Church of Christ in this world, and, finally, very many to the Messianic Kingdom in the eschatological sense, viz., the Church triumphant in heaven.

This last view may be adopted as probably correct. It gains support from the following considerations: 1. Jesus had already ended His public ministry as the Messiah, when He spoke of the *coming* of the Kingdom of God; He called the date of the future Kingdom "that day," alluding unmistakably to the "day of the Lord," the day of His return to judge and consummate the world. Thus it will be in the Kingdom of Heaven that Christ, in the company of the apostles ("with you"), will drink the fruit of the vine as a "new" drink of a higher and spiritual kind. The drinking of this wine symbolizes the bliss of those who dwell in heaven. The Psalmist uses similar language when he says: "They shall be inebriated with the plenty of thy house; and thou shalt make them drink of the torrent of thy pleasure."[2]

How are we to reconcile our Lord's solemn statement in the Cenaculum (Supper Room), at Jerusalem, with the fact that after the Resurrection He ate food and apparently drank wine on several occasions?[3] The answer usually given is: After the resurrection He ate food not, as men do, in order to support life, but in order to prove the reality of His risen body. This is true enough, as will be shown when we deal with the period following the resurrection; but the correct reply to the question is: Christ was here speaking exclusively of eating the Paschal lamb and of drinking the wine prescribed by the ritual of the Pasch.

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[1] Cornely also seems to take this view.
[2] Ps. xxxv. 9.
[3] Acts x. 41.

IV. Institution of the Most Holy Eucharist

Matthew xxvi. 26–28

26. Ἐσθιόντων δὲ αὐτῶν λαβὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἄρτον καὶ εὐλογήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ δοὺς τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ εἶπεν· λάβετε φάγετε· τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου.

27. Καὶ λαβὼν ποτήριον καὶ εὐχαριστήσας ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς λέγων· πίετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες.

28. Τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν τὸ αἷμά μου τῆς (καινῆς) διαθήκης τὸ περὶ πολλῶν ἐκχυννόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν.

26. Coenantibus autem eis accepit Jesus panem et benedixit ac fregit deditque discipulis suis et ait: Accipite et comedite, hoc est corpus meum.

27. Et accipiens calicem gratias egit et dedit illis dicens: Bibite ex hoc omnes;

28. Hic est enim sanguis meus novi testamenti, qui pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum.

26. And whilst they were at supper, Jesus took bread, and blessed, and broke: and gave to his disciples, and said: Take ye and eat: This is my body.

27. And taking the chalice he gave thanks: and gave to them, saying; Drink ye all of this.

28. For this is my blood of the new testament which shall be shed for many unto remission of sins.

Luke xxii. 19, 20

19. Καὶ λαβὼν ἄρτον εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς λέγων· τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον· τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.

20. Καὶ τὸ ποτήριον ὡσαύτως μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι λέγων· τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου, τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυννόμενον.

19. Et accepto pane gratias egit et fregit et dedit illis dicens: Hoc est corpus meum, quod pro vobis datur; hoc facite in meam commemorationem.

Mark xiv. 22–24

22. Καὶ ἐσθιόντων αὐτῶν λαβὼν (ὁ Ἰησοῦς) ἄρτον εὐλογήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς καὶ εἶπεν· τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου.

23. Καὶ λαβὼν ποτήριον εὐχαριστήσας ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἔπιον ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες.

24. Καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ αἷμά μου τῆς (καινῆς) διαθήκης τὸ ἐκχυννόμενον ὑπὲρ πολλῶν.

22. Et manducantibus illis accepit Jesus panem et benedicens fregit et dedit eis et ait: Sumite. hoc est corpus meum.

23. Et accepto calice gratias agens dedit eis; et biberunt ex illo omnes.

24. Et ait illis: hic est sanguis meus novi testamenti, qui pro multis effundetur.

22. And whilst they were eating, Jesus took bread: and blessing broke, and gave to them, and said: Take ye, this is my body.

23. And having taken the chalice, giving thanks he gave *it* to them. And they all drank of it.

24. And he said to them: This is my blood of the new testament, which shall be shed for many.

1 Cor. xi. 23–25

23. Ἐγὼ γὰρ παρέλαβον ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου, ὃ καὶ παρέδωκα ὑμῖν, ὅτι ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ᾗ παρεδίδετο ἔλαβεν ἄρτον καὶ εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ εἶπεν·

24. Τοῦτο μού ἐστιν τὸ σῶμα τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν (κλώμενον)· τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.

25. Ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ ποτήριον μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι λέγων· τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ αἵματι· τοῦτο ποιεῖτε. Ὁσάκις ἐαν πίνητε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.

23. Ego enim accepi a Domino, quod et tradidi vobis, quoniam Dominus Jesus, in qua nocte tradebatur, accepit panem;

LUKE xxii. 19, 20

20. Similiter et calicem, postquam coenavit, dicens: Hic est calix novum testamentum in sanguine meo, qui pro vobis fundetur.

19. And taking bread he gave thanks, and brake; and gave to them, saying: This is my body which is given for you. Do this for a commemoration of me.

20. In like manner the chalice also, after he had supped, saying: This is the chalice, the new testament in my blood, which shall be shed for you.

1 COR. xi. 23–25

24. Et gratias agens fregit et dixit: Accipite et manducate, hoc est corpus meum, quod pro vobis tradetur; hoc facite in meam commemorationem.

25. Similiter et calicem, postquam coenavit, dicens: Hic calix novum testamentum est in meo sanguine. Hoc facite, quotiescunque bibetis, in meam commemorationem.

23. For I have received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you, that the Lord Jesus, the same night in which he was betrayed, took bread,

24. And giving thanks, broke, and said: Take ye and eat: this is my body which shall be delivered for you: this do for the commemoration of me.

25. In like manner also the chalice, after he had supped, saying: This chalice is the new testament in my blood: this do ye, as often as you shall drink, for the commemoration of me.

The Most Holy Eucharist, the great mystery of mysteries, was instituted by our Lord during the Paschal supper, immediately before the beginning of His Passion. As the high priest of the New Testament, He performed a sacrificial act and at the same time celebrated Holy Communion in the Cenaculum at Jerusalem; in addition He appointed the apostles and their successors as priests, commissioned to offer in perpetuity the Eucharistic sacrifice, and to administer the sacrificial food to the faithful, in the most holy Sacrament of the Altar.

Explanation of the words preceding the Consecration. Chronological order of the acts of consecration. St. Matthew and St. Mark say that Jesus consecrated the bread "whilst they were at supper,"[1] or, "whilst they were eating";[2] St. Luke does not indicate the time of the transubstantiation of the bread, but, like St. Paul, says that our Lord consecrated the chalice "after He had supped."[3] Some commentators think it necessary, therefore, to infer that the Holy

[1] Matthew xxvi. 26. [2] Mark xiv. 22.
[3] Luke xxii. 20; 1 Cor. xi. 25.

Eucharist was instituted in two acts, separated one from the other by an interval of time, and not in immediate succession; that the holy Sacrifice was instituted under the form of bread *during* the supper, but under the form of wine *after* the supper was ended.[1] The majority of commentators think that there was no interval between the two acts of consecration; this seems the more probable opinion, but those who attempt to justify it have assigned various interpretations to the words of St. Luke and St. Paul.

In the first place, we must notice that the indication of time given by St. Matthew and St. Mark in the words ἐσθίοντων αὐτῶν ("as they were eating") need not necessarily refer to the action of eating, but they mean simply "whilst they were still at the table." Secondly, the expression: "After He had supped," that occurs in the accounts given by St. Luke and St. Paul, should probably be understood as referring to the Paschal meal in its proper sense, partly because in the Greek a verb has to be supplied from the previous verse, and partly because the words "in like manner" allude also to the institution of the Eucharist under the form of bread, and thus St. Luke and St. Paul transfer the consecration of both, the bread and the wine, to the time after the Paschal meal. This view gains weight from the position of the conjunction καὶ in the *Recepta* and in the Vulgate, although the reading is not absolutely certain. There have other attempts been made to remove the difficulty in the words μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι. It is incorrect to give to the words εσθίοντων αὐτῶν in St. Matthew and St. Mark a past sense and to translate "after they had eaten." A few scholars have adopted a suggestion made by early commentators[2] to the effect that St. Luke inserted the words "after He had supped" merely in order to distinguish the Eucharistic chalice from the previously mentioned cup. Cornely thinks that the expression μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι is added to render more definite the vague indication of time conveyed by ἐσθίοντων.

The Eucharist was therefore probably instituted in two successive acts, following closely one upon the other, after the Paschal supper, the conclusion of which was marked by the master of the house eating the last piece, of the size of an olive, of the Paschal lamb. After this, no food was to be eaten that evening, but the ritual required two more cups of wine to be drunk, viz., the third, the cup of blessings, and the fourth, the cup of the Hallel. A fifth was often poured out and handed round, but it was not strictly prescribed, and so those present might refuse it if they so chose. With which cup, prescribed by the Jewish ritual, may the chalice of the Holy Communion

[1] Thus St. Thomas Aquinas, Comm. ad 1 Cor. xi. 25; Bellarmine, De eucharistia, iv. 27; Patrizi, De evang., and others.
[2] Cajet., Estius ad 1 Cor. xi. 25.

be identified? As our Lord instituted the Sacrament after the Paschal supper, we have to decide whether it coincided with the third, fourth, or fifth cup of the Pasch. There have been commentators in favor of each of the three, and it is perhaps impossible to arrive at absolute certainty. Recent scholars incline to the opinion that the Eucharistic chalice took the place of the fifth cup.[1]

The arguments in support of this view are: The type was once more to be enacted in all its essential parts, before the antitype took its place. As the third and fourth cups were obligatory, according to the Paschal ritual, the chalice of the Eucharist must have taken the place of the fifth cup, which was optional. Moreover our Lord's words, "Drink ye *all* of this," point to the fifth cup, since this was the only one of which all those present at the supper were not bound to partake. These two arguments will be discussed more fully later on. On the other hand, many commentators, both old and new, identify the Eucharistic chalice with the fourth cup.[2]

Others again think, with apparently greater probability, that the Eucharistic chalice took the place of the third cup of the Pasch, so that our Saviour, after pouring and mixing the wine, proceeded first to consecrate the bread, and immediately afterwards the wine. The reasons for adopting this view are: It has already been pointed out that the celebration of the Eucharist took place "after supper." Now the essential part of the supper was the eating of the Paschal lamb; after which the meal was practically over, as no other food might be taken that night. Whatever occurred in the supper room from that moment onward, might therefore be said to have occurred after supper. St. Paul seems to indicate that the celebration of the Sacrament followed immediately after the Paschal supper, when he says: "The chalice of benediction which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ?"[3] He is undoubtedly speaking of holy Communion celebrated according to our Lord's instructions by the Christian community in Corinth. The point is that St. Paul calls the chalice at the

[1] Thus Friedlieb, Langen, Bisping in Matthaeum.
[2] Scaliger (De emendat. temp. I, vi); Buxtorf (Lexic. Talm.); Bynaeus (I, 8, 17) thinks the third cup the more probable, but the fourth possible.
[3] I Cor. x. 16.

Eucharist "the chalice of benediction," and adds the remark, "which we bless." To the cup of blessing, handed round at the Jewish Pasch by the master of the house, is set opposite the chalice of benediction that the Christians possess, the chalice "which we bless."

There is, moreover, a dogmatic consideration tending to support the opinion that the chalice of the Eucharist took the place of the third cup at the Paschal supper. According to the teaching of the New Testament, God designed the Old Testament to have a symbolical character,[1] so that the types really belong to it, and are not arbitrarily invented and foisted upon it by men. Now the Paschal lamb was in a very special way a type of Christ, and the Jewish Pasch a type of the Holy Eucharist. Our Lord was greeted by His precursor[2] as the Lamb of God, the antitype of the Paschal lamb, and He was shown to be such by a significant proceeding at the Crucifixion of which St. John[3] gives an authentic explanation. St. Paul, too, writes[4] "Christ our Pasch is sacrificed." From this close connection between the Jewish and the Christian Pasch it seems permissible to conclude that the antitype reality must have followed immediately upon the close of the action which was its type; i.e., that directly after the Jewish Pasch had been eaten, there followed the offering of Christ, the true Lamb of God, and the eating of the perfect Paschal supper.

Arguments against this theory. The chief argument is that the type must once more have been complete, and the ritual carried out in every detail before it could give place to the reality. If the Eucharistic chalice is identified with the third Paschal cup, this would not have been the case, because a fourth cup was obligatory, and a change would have been made in the Jewish ceremonial had the institution of the Eucharist and the handing round of the consecrated bread occurred at that point in the supper, since wine might be drunk after the conclusion of the meal, but nothing solid might be eaten. This argument is in many respects untenable. It is impossible to prove that the type had to be completed once more in every detail before giving place to the reality, which it had represented. Jesus possessed divine authority, and His task was to fulfill, i.e., to complete, the law and the prophets.[5] We cannot make the fulfillment of the types dependent upon the detailed performance of the typical action by our Lord. Moreover, we do not know with certainty whether at the time of Christ the Haggadah already had the fixed form that we find in the Talmudists. Another objection is based upon the words uttered by our Lord, when He handed the Eucharistic chalice to His disciples: "Drink ye all of this."

[1] Compare Heb. vii. 3; ix. 8.
[2] John i. 29.
[3] xix. 33–36.
[4] 1 Cor. v. 7.
[5] Matthew v. 17.

Some commentators, laying stress upon the word *all*, have seen in this command a reference to the fifth cup at the Paschal supper, the drinking of which was, as has already been said, optional among the Jews. But the assertion that the emphasis must be laid upon the word *all* has only the weight of a subjective opinion. Our Lord's command may equally well be referred to the third cup; He bade all the apostles to drink, because the Eucharistic chalice was passed round once, and its contents were not renewed: *ut in orbem omnes ex eodem calice bibant.*

Εὐλογεῖν (*gratias agere*), εὐχαριστεῖν (*benedicere*). In their account of the consecration of the bread, St. Matthew and St. Mark use the verb εὐλογήσας; in that of the consecration of the wine εὐχαριστήσας St. Luke and St. Paul have εὐχαριστήσας of the bread, and no verb at all of the wine. The verbs are of similar meaning, but they must not be identified so completely as to be regarded as synonymous. Εὐλογεῖν means to give thanks, and refers to God the Father; εὐχαριστεῖν means to bless, and refers to the bread. Christ thanks God for the Eucharist as a means of salvation foreshadowed by the Pasch, and now taking the place of its type. He pronounces the words of blessing over the bread, thus dedicating it and preparing it for the transubstantiation that was about to take place. In the Canon of the Mass the two words are coupled together: *gratias agens benedixit.* It would be a mistake to identify the *benedictio* with the *consecratio;* this point will be discussed more fully in the next paragraph.

The Accounts of the Consecration

The consecration of the bread. In order to make the following explanation more intelligible, the actual words of the Bible are here quoted.

MATTHEW xxvi. 26

Τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου.
Hoc est corpus meum.

MARK xiv. 22

Τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου.
Hoc est corpus meum.

LUKE xxii. 19

Τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον.
Hoc est corpus meum, quod pro vobis datur.

1 Cor. xi. 24

Τοῦτό μου ἐστιν τὸ σῶμα τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν (κλώμενον).

Hoc est corpus meum, quod pro vobis frangitur (Vulgate: *tradetur*).

The following remarks may be made on these four texts: St. Matthew and St. Mark have precisely the same reading; St. Luke and St. Paul record the same words but with an addition emphasizing the sacrificial character of the consecrated bread. In St. Luke the participle διδόμενον is rendered in the Vulgate by the present tense *datur*. There are two readings of St. Paul's version: τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμων, and, τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν κλώμενον, but the printed Vulgate has *tradere* instead of *frangere*, and substitutes the future for the present. There is nothing in the Greek to justify the future tense, and some manuscripts of the Vulgate read *frangere*, and not *tradere*. This reading occurs in two Greek-Latin MSS. of the Bible, viz. (1) the *Codex Claromontanus*, that dates from the 6th cent. and contains the earliest known version of the Latin translation; it is now in the National Library in Paris; and (2) the *Codex Sangermanensis*, that belongs to the 9th cent. and is now in Petrograd. The verb *frangere* in the future tense occurs in the Latin interlinear translation of the *Codex Boernerianus*, a manuscript containing St. Paul's epistles, now in the Royal Library at Dresden.

The pronoun τοῦτο (*hoc*) is demonstrative: "this that I hold in my hand and am about to give you." Our Lord was holding the bread He had blessed, and the apostles received, after the words of consecration had meantime been pronounced, from His Hand the transubstantiated bread, the Body of Christ under the form of bread. The question as to the mode of the transubstantiation will be discussed later.

The consecration of the wine.

Matthew xxvi. 28

Τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστιν τὸ αἷμά μου τὸ τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης, τὸ περὶ πολλῶν ἐκχυννόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν.

Hic est enim sanguis meus novi testamenti, qui pro multis effunditur (Vulgate: *effundetur*) *in remissionem peccatorum.*

Mark xiv. 24

Τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ αἷμά μου τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης τὸ ὑπὲρ πολλῶν ἐκχυννόμενον.

Hic est sanguis meus novi testamenti, qui pro multis effunditur (Vulgate: *effundetur*).

Luke xxii. 20

Τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυννόμενον.

Hic est calix novum testamentum in sanguine meo, qui pro vobis funditur (Vulgate: *fundetur*).

1 Cor. xi. 25

Τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ αἵματι.

Hic calix novum testamentum in meo sanguine.

Linguistic and critical notes. In all the accounts of the institution of the Eucharist the Greek text reads the present tense, whereas the printed text of the Vulgate reads the future everywhere except in Luke xxii. 19, where διδόμενον is rendered *traditur*. Wordsworth has substituted the present for the future in the printed text of the Vulgate, and justifies the change by reference to early MSS. It is in accordance with Biblical usage to employ the present in speaking of future events which will certainly take place in a very short time: but the rules of language require us to assign a present meaning to the present tense, provided there is no good reason for doing otherwise. That there is no such reason in the case before us is apparent from the fact that all the sacred writers use the present. We must, moreover, notice that the phraseology is opposed to a deviation from the ordinary rule. If the present tense were here taken as equivalent to the future, the only possible reference would be to the Crucifixion. Now the words: "the chalice which is poured out" naturally allude to the pouring out in sacrifice of the contents of the Paschal cup, whereas to see in them an allusion to the outpouring on the cross of our Lord's blood would result in a forced and unnatural figure of speech. In 1 Cor. xi. 25, the words "the body which is broken" can hardly be understood of the sacrifice of Christ's body on the cross, quite apart from the fact that His body was not broken[1] at all; the expression, however, is perfectly suitable when applied to the sacrifice of our Lord's body under the form of bread. If we adhere to the present tense throughout in the words of institution, they refer immediately and primarily to the Holy Eucharist, but this includes, and does not preclude, a simultaneous reference to the sacrifice of the cross. This reference is brought out very clearly in the printed text of the Vulgate, where the present tenses of the Greek text are, with one exception, rendered by the future. On this Lucas Brugensis writes in his Commentary on the Gospels:[2] *multi intelligunt, praesens positum esse pro imminente futuro, ut ad crucem referant; sed non frustra praesenti tempore utuntur tres evangelistae simul et Paulus — . . ., quinimmo clarum hinc evadit, quod non de cruce solum, verum etiam de coena et Eucharistia Christus loquatur, praesertim cum Lucas manifeste effusionem non sanguini, sed calici tribuat. Non est intelligendum futurum tempus excluso praesenti, sed* PRAESENS INCLUSO FUTURO *propter continuitatem actionis.*

[1] John xix. 33, 36.

[2] Antwerp, 1606–1616.

As the present tense must be retained in διδόμενον, κλώμενον, and ἐκχυννόμενον, they refer directly to the Eucharistic celebration, and apply to all our Lord's actions during that night. It was on that evening that Jesus gave His body, and shed His blood, both for the apostles and for "many." He gave the apostles His body to eat and His blood to drink, and charged them to repeat in commemoration of Him the action He had performed. Before we proceed to consider each of these points separately, we must discuss the words by which our Lord Himself effected the transubstantiation of the bread and wine, and those by which priests, acting as His representatives, do the same thing.

What were the words with which Christ effected the transubstantiation of the bread and the wine? And what are the words by which priests, acting as His representatives, effect it? The only possible answer is: By the words of institution. The proof of this statement is as follows: Jesus commissioned the apostles to repeat in commemoration of Him the action that He performed in the Cenaculum. We should *a priori* expect them to use the same actions and words as their Master, for the more sacred an action is, the more important is the form in which it is accomplished. The *Catechismus Romanus* expresses this fact in the words: *nam quod Dominus faciendum praecepit, non solum ad id, quod egerat, sed etiam ad ea,* QUAE DIXERAT, *referri debet.* If this assumption be correct, then the words of institution must have been, and must still be, the words of consecration, partly because the sacred writers record no other words which could be regarded as the formula for the Eucharist transubstantiation, and, on the other hand, they give the words of institution with great precision. Therefore when a priest commissioned by Christ says in His name: "This is my body," the words are operative, and do not merely make a declaration. This view is expressed by the earliest Fathers and authors in the Church. A few only may be mentioned, such as Justin Martyr,[1] Tertullian,[2] and St. Ambrose, who writes: *si tantum valuit humana benedictio (scl. in miraculis V. T.) ut naturam converteret quid dicimus de ipsa consecratione divina, ubi ipsa verba Salvatoris operantur? Nam sacramentum illud, quod accipis Christi sermone conficitur.*[3]

[1] Apol. I. 66. [2] Adv. Marc. iv. 40. [3] De mysteriis. 9, 52.

A different opinion has been put forward from time to time, both before and after the Council of Trent, which pronounced no formal decision on the subject, but allowed to be inferred that the words of institution were also those of consecration. Pope Innocent III thought that Christ performed the transubstantiation by a purely interior act, and that it was only after the transubstantiation had been effected that He gave the Eucharistic species to the apostles, saying "This is my body," "This is my blood," — words uttered in order that priests should thenceforth use them for the purpose of consecration. Thus on the lips of Christ the words were merely declarative and perceptive, not operative or effective, although they are operative when pronounced by His representatives. Some theologians have gone even further, and have supposed that priests also effect the transubstantiation, not by pronouncing the words of institution, but by an act of prayer, the so-called *epiklesis,* or else that the *epiklesis* together with the words of institution form at least an essential part of the Eucharistic consecration. By *epiklesis* is meant a prayer addressed to God the Father, beseeching Him to send down the Holy Ghost to transform bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ.[1]

In many of the oriental liturgies an *epiklesis* of this kind occurs after and not before the words of institution, and the same is the case in some western liturgies also. The theologians of the Roman Church, who have regarded the act of prayer as either the whole of the consecration, or at least as an essential part of it, consider that the third prayer preceding the words of institution is the *epiklesis* (*Quam oblationem tu Deus . . .*). The Canon of the Roman Mass formerly also contained the *epiclese.* Gelasius I testifies to this effect. (*Ep. ad Elpidium.*) It probably was removed by him. According to some, however, it was essentially changed into the Oration *Supplices.* The question of its place in the former Canon is connected with the question of what changes the Canon underwent by Gelasius, and in the post-Gelasian time.[2] To the *Supplices* theologians ascribed, if not an exclusive, at least a partial consecrative power. Since the 17th century, the schismatic Greeks, under the leadership of the Metropolitan of Kiew, Petrus Mogilas (whose *confessio fidei orthodoxa* became the norm), have universally ascribed to the *epiclesis* the exclusive power of consecration, and have raised the doctrine to a dogma. At the Council of Florence the question of the *epiklesis* in the Greek liturgy came under discussion, and the Greek bishops present at the Council made the following verbal declaration on July 5th, 1439, after Bessarion, Archbishop of Nicea, subsequently Cardinal, had signed the decree of union, and before its solemn promulgation on the next day: *Quoniam ab omnibus sanctis doctoribus ecclesiae, praesertim ab illo beato Joanne Chrysostomo, qui nobis notissimus est, audimus, verba dominica esse illa, quae mutant et transsubstantiant panem et vinum in corpus verum Christi et sanguinem, et quod illa verba Salvatoris* OMNEM VIRTUTEM TRANSSUBSTANTIATIONIS *habent, nos ipsi sanctum doctorem et illius sententiam sequimur de necessitate.* Thus the Greeks, referring to St. John Chrysostom, professed their belief that Christ's words of institution alone possessed power to effect transubstantiation. Pope Eugenius IV makes a similar declaration in his instruction to the Armenians: *Forma hujus sacramenti sunt verba Salvatoris, quibus hoc conficit sacramentum.*

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[1] De s. alteris mysterio. 4, 6.

[2] Compare A. Fortescue, The Mass, 1912, pp. 402–407; Duchesne, Origines, p. 207 *seq.*

At the Last Supper Jesus performed an act of sacrifice and gave the apostles sacrificial food to eat. The celebration of the Last Supper was closely connected with the Paschal feast, which consisted, as we have already seen, of very definite food, prescribed by Yahweh, and was regarded by the Jews as a most sacred and solemn banquet. This intimate connection between the Eucharist and the Jewish Pasch would inevitably suggest that a kind of sacrificial food was given to the disciples at the Last Supper. The idea that the Eucharist was a sacrificial feast gained strength from the fact that Jesus represented His body and blood as distinct, when He gave them to the apostles under the forms of bread and wine. When He said: "This is my body," "this is my blood," the apostles, being Jews by birth, and acquainted with the Old Testament theory of sacrifice, would see that He intended His body and blood to be regarded as a sacrifice; that He offered them both, and therefore had mystically performed a sacrificial act, for the essence of the sacrifice required the flesh and blood to be separated, and the latter to be poured out. In the celebration of the Eucharist, this separation of the Body and Blood, and the outpouring of the latter were sacramental and mystical, and consisted in the fact that Jesus represented His body and blood as distinct, the one under the form of bread, and the other under that of wine, and that He gave them to the apostles under these forms. The physical separation of Christ's flesh and blood took place on the following day, when He was crucified.

Lastly, the words accompanying our Lord's action plainly revealed its sacrificial character. Christ's body was "broken" and "given" for the apostles; His blood was "shed" for them and for many "unto remission of sins." These words refer primarily and directly to the Eucharist celebrated in Jerusalem; they must not be understood simply as meaning that Christ gave His body to the apostles for them to eat and His blood for them to drink, but they proclaim at the same time the sacrificial character of the ceremony. At the consecration Jesus did not say that the bread was given and the blood shed for the apostles, i.e., that they might partake thereof, but for their sake, on their behalf. Moreover, the words themselves were those used technically in speaking of sacrifice. *Non*

intelligi potest, effundi sanguinem et dari corpus ad bibendum et comedendum tanquam sacramentum, quia hoc jam dixerat neque dixit vobis, sed pro vobis, scl. DATUR ET EFFUNDITUR DEO, *quod proprie est sacrificii.*[1] The addition of the words "for you"—"for many"[2] indicates that the Body and Blood of Christ, offered as a sacrifice to God the Father at the moment of consecration, were an expiatory sacrifice offered expressly to effect the remission of sins. Now the Eucharist was a sacrifice only with reference to the Sacrifice of the Cross, anticipated by the sacrificial act of the Supper Room. Only the remission of sins is mentioned as an effect of the Eucharistic sacrifice because sinful man feels a desire for release from the heavy burden of sin and guilt, and because the positive effects of salvation accompany the remission of sin.[3]

According to the definite teaching of Holy Scripture, Christ is the Lamb slain to take away the sins of the whole world, and hence some commentators take the words "for many" as equivalent to "for all." It is more probable, however, that our Lord, in using these words, was not thinking so much of the objective result of His sacrifice as of the subjective appropriation of that benefit by mankind: *non tam sacrificii sufficientiam respicere videtur, quam ejus fructum.*[4]

The sacrificial character of the Eucharistic action furnishes convincing evidence in support of the theory that Jesus really changed bread and wine into His body and blood by means of the word of consecration. Only if we start with the assumption that Jesus by means of the act of consecration really changed the bread and wine into His flesh and blood, can we declare that He performed an act of sacrifice when He said: "This is my body, which is offered," "This is my blood, which is shed." Christ's true Body and true Blood, and not anything merely symbolizing them, could alone be sacrificed and alone possess power to make satisfaction for sin; only a genuine sacrifice, and not a mere type of the same, could really procure remission of sins. We arrive at a similar conclusion if we consider the fact that St. Luke and St. Paul speak of the

[1] Jansenius.
[2] The prepositions ὑπέρ and περί have not in this connection the same force: ὑπέρ emphasizes the idea of substitution, περί that of satisfaction.
[3] Compare Matthew i. 21.
[4] Jansenius.

contents of the chalice not merely as the blood of sacrifice, but as a new testament, i.e., as blood, the shedding of which concludes a new covenant, and which is the gift of this newly established contract. This designation refers to the consecration of the old covenant by means of the blood of animals killed in sacrifice. When the law had been read aloud to the Israelites, Moses took blood and sprinkled it over the people, saying: *hic est sanguis foederis, quod pepigit Dominus vobiscum super cunctis sermonibus his.* This allusion to what took place at the foundation of the old covenant makes it impossible to assign a symbolical interpretation to the passage under discussion: *colligitur, Christum verum dedisse sanguinem; opponit enim sanguinem suum sanguini vitulorum, tanquam figurae veritatem.*

There is another weighty reason for adopting the theory suggested. In the New Testament the Christian Pasch is represented as the antitype and realization of that which was foreshadowed by the Jewish Paschal sacrifice and supper. If Christ, who came to fulfill the law and the prophets had offered, immediately before His death, something that only symbolized His body and blood, and had given the same to the apostles, He would have established a meaningless rite in place of the symbolical sacrifice and acts in use among the Jews, and this would have been completely at variance with the purpose of His coming into the world: *Et sane, cum agnus paschalis (sc. Judaeorum) figura fuerit Christi in cruce offerendi, ut patet Jo. xix.* 36, *si corpus non est aliud, nisi figura corporis in cruce offerendi, profecto figuram figurae substituit, obscuram evidentissime, cum tamen venerit figuris finem imponere.*[1]

An argument for the sacrificial character of the Eucharistic action could perhaps be taken from the words, "Do this in commemoration of Me." *Vide* Eccl. Review, vol. 45, p. 363, where H. J. Heuser states that the Hebrew or Aramaic equivalent of the Greek term ἀνάμνησις is given in Fuerst's Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon as "azkarah," an expression which in sacrificial language means a meal offering remembrance. This is a good answer to T. K. Abbot's statement that a sacrificial meaning cannot be obtained from ἀνάμνησις any more than

[1] Jansenius.

from ποιεῖτε. Not from the Greek but from the equivalent ritual Hebrew term, Num. v. 15. Thus we may interpret: "Do this as a memorial-sacrifice of me." Very significant also is what Heuser quotes of Catherine Emmerich, how she gave the words as "Do this as a sacrifice of me."

It has been asked whether Jesus Himself partook of the Eucharistic supper or not; whether in the Supper Room at Jerusalem He ate His flesh and drank His blood under the forms of bread and wine. Some writers answer this question affirmatively, e.g., St. Jerome,[1] St. John Chrysostom,[2] and St. Thomas Aquinas;[3] one liturgy, too, contains a reference to our Lord's participation in the Eucharist. From a purely exegetical standpoint this view gains weight from the fact that, according to St. Matthew and St. Mark, immediately after institution of the Holy Eucharist and the handing of the chalice to the apostles, our Lord said: "I say to you, I will not drink from henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until that day when I shall drink it with you new in the kingdom of my Father."[4] This statement is assumed to refer to the Eucharist chalice, and to indicate that Jesus drank from it Himself and then passed it to the disciples. But our Lord's expression, "this fruit of the vine," does not seem to refer to the Eucharistic chalice at all, and the improbability of this interpretation is increased by the fact that in St. Luke's gospel this utterance of our Lord's stands before the institution of the Eucharist.[5] St. Luke as a rule adheres most closely to the chronological order of events, and it may well be that he recorded this utterance in the original place, and by setting it earlier he indicates that it refers, not to the Eucharistic chalice, but to one of the cups drunk at the Paschal supper. If this supposition be correct, our Lord availed Himself of the opportunity offered Him by the Paschal festivities to speak of the full realization in heaven of the joys typified by the Pasch, and He did so in language motived by His surroundings, and familiar to the Jews.[6]

In the Church Militant on earth the Holy Eucharist is a prelude to the perfect and endless festival of the Church Triumphant in heaven. The theory that Christ's words as recorded by St. Matthew and St. Mark referred to the fourth cup at the Paschal supper is hardly tenable, for it is most improbable that Jesus, after substituting the reality for the type that had represented it, concluded the Eucharistic ceremonial by mixing and handing round a cup of wine in accordance with the Jewish ritual. There are also other considerations opposed to the theory that our Lord took part in the Eucharistic supper. Not only is there no indication in the gospel of

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[1] Epist. ad Hedib, quaest. II: *nec Moyses dedit nobis panem verum, sed Dominus Jesus; ipse* CONVIVA *et convivium, ipse* COMEDENS *et qui comeditur;* compare Knabenbauer, Comm. in Matth. ii. 437.

[2] In Matth. hom. 82.

[3] Summa iii. 81, 1.

[4] Matthew xxvi. 29; compare Mark xiv. 25.

[5] Luke xxii. 18.

[6] Jansenius: *Venuste transit Dominus a significatione vini propria ad metaphoricam . . . ut significet, se in regno caelorum eum illis inebriandum esse vino coelestium deliciarum ab ubertate domus Dei et de torrente voluptatis ejus esse potandum* (compare Ps. xxxv).

His having done so, but, if we assume that Jesus consecrated the bread and wine by means of the words of institution, the account given by the sacred writers seems incapable of bearing such an interpretation. All agree in stating that Jesus took bread, and blessed it, and broke it, and gave it to His disciples, saying: "Take and eat, this is my body." . . . The opinion expressed by some of the Fathers that Jesus Himself partook of the Eucharist was one of the reasons why theologians assume that He consecrated the bread and wine by a previous, interior act of prayer, and not by the words of institution.

The Apostles as priests of the New Covenant. At the Last Supper Christ instituted the Eucharist as a sacrifice and Sacrament of the New Covenant that He established, and at the same time He appointed the apostles to be priests, that they might perform the Eucharistic action. During this most holy evening He spoke of the interior and essential connection between the sacrifice of the Eucharist and that of the Cross. When He said to the apostles: "Do this in commemoration of me," He both instituted the holy Eucharist and made the apostles priests, empowered to offer it. St. Luke records these words as uttered at the transubstantiation of the bread, but St. Paul inserts them a second time at the consecration of the wine. The repetition emphasizes the importance of the commission given to the apostles, in addition to throwing a significant light upon one point in it. Jansenius states very clearly the general connection between this commission and the action that preceded it: *mens mea non est, ut hoc semel a me et vobis duntaxat fiat, sed ut perpetuo in ecclesia frequentetur.* The word "this" must be understood as an allusion to the whole action of our Lord at the Eucharistic supper, to the consecration of bread and wine as well as to giving the apostles the sacrificial body of Christ to eat, and His blood to drink. There is in the context nothing to justify any limitation to this allusion. As the imperative "Do" is a command given by our Lord, the apostles were commissioned to perform in future the sacrificial act and to administer the Sacrament, as Jesus had just done. These sacerdotal functions on the part of the apostles were to be discharged in commemoration of Christ.

A twofold question presents itself here: To what extent was the Eucharist a commemoration of Christ, and for how long did He intend its celebration to be continued? The answer is supplied by St. Paul, who was instructed by our Lord

Himself on this subject: "As often as you shall eat this bread and drink the chalice, you shall shew the death of the Lord, until He come."[1] As the Lord's coming means His second advent at the end of the world, the celebration of this commemoration of Him is to continue until then. It follows also that our Lord's commission was not given only to the apostles, but also to their successors, the priests of His Church. If we take St. Paul's words in connection with those of Christ, we perceive further that the celebration of the Lord's Supper, the Eucharistic act of sacrifice and the Eucharistic feast, is in itself, *ipso facto*, a showing forth of the death of Christ. The words of Holy Scripture are opposed to the explanation that the apostles when offering the sacrifice, and the faithful when receiving the Eucharist, were at the same time to remember Christ's death or to utter words expressive of such remembrance.[2] We have a clear and definite statement of the effect that the Eucharistic sacrifice and the administration of the Sacrament are in themselves a commemoration of our Lord's death on the cross. These words therefore express the interior and essential connection between the Eucharistic sacrifice and the sacrifice of the Cross, and the connection is brought out in the Catholic doctrine regarding the relation existing between the sacrifice of the Mass and the sacrifice of the Cross.

An analysis of our Lord's commission to the apostles and of St. Paul's elucidation of it reveals the following doctrines: (1) The apostles were ordered themselves to do, and to continue doing in the person of their successors, until the end of the world, what Christ had just done in the supper room at Jerusalem, viz., to perform the Eucharistic sacrifice and to administer the Sacrament. (2) As the sacrifice and the priesthood are essentially connected, since to sacrifice is one of the priest's chief functions, our Lord's words: "Do this in commemoration of me," made the apostles priests, endowed with priestly authority and bound to offer the Eucharistic sacrifice. Hence the Council of Trent declared: *Si quis dixerit, illis verbis: "hoc facite in meam commemorationem" Christum non instituisse apostolos sacerdotes; aut non ordinasse, ut ipsi aliique sacerdotes offerrent corpus et sanguinem suum: an-*

[1] 1 Cor. xi. 26.

[2] Compare Corn. à Lap. *ad loc.*

athema sit.[1] The call to join the apostolic band included the call to discharge the functions of apostles, but as during our Lord's life on earth the apostles were in course of preparation for their office, they did not receive authority to use their powers until just before their Master's death. (3) In the Holy Eucharist Christ offered a true sacrifice, which anticipated the sacrifice of the Cross, and the Church teaches that the Eucharist is not a *nuda commemoratio sacrificii in cruce peracti*[2] but a *sacrificium commemorativum:* not a simple memorial, a sacred action at or through which the sacrificial death of Christ is recalled to memory, but a commemorative sacrifice, a real sacrificial action, through which the sacrifice of the Cross is made truly present (*repraesentari*)[3] and its salutary effects applied to our souls. A fuller discussion of the doctrine of the Eucharistic sacrifice would carry us beyond the scope of the present work.

As the Eucharistic sacrifice instituted by Christ is offered at the celebration of Holy Mass, it will be well to examine the liturgical formulae, used at the consecration, in their relation to the words of institution as recorded by the sacred writers.

Consecration of the Bread
Introduction

Qui pridie postquam pateretur accepit panem in sanctas ac venerabiles manus suas, et elevatis oculis in coelum ad te Deum patrem suum omnipotentem tibi gratias agens benedixit fregit deditque discipulis suis dicens: accipite et manducate ex hoc omnes.

Words of Consecration

Hoc est enim Corpus meum.

Consecration of the Chalice
Introduction

Simili modo postquam coenatum est accipiens et hunc praeclarum calicem in sanctas ac venerabiles manus item tibi gratias agens benedixit deditque discipulis suis dicens: accipite et bibite ex eo omnes.

Words of Consecration

Hic est enim calix sanguinis mei, novi et aeterni testamenti, mysterium fidei, qui pro vobis et pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum.

Haec quotiescumque feceritis, in mei memoriam facietis.

The liturgical formulae, that introduce the act of consecration, will be seen, when compared with the Biblical texts, to contain some additions and

[1] Sess. 22, can. II de sacrificio Missae; compare can. I ejusdem sess.
[2] Conc. Trid. *l. c.* can. III. [3] Conc. Trid. *l. c.* can. I.

different wordings. The indication of time *qui pridie postquam pateretur* is parallel to that given by St. Paul: *in qua nocte tradebatur;* in this context there is no indication of time in the gospels. The words *in sanctas ac venerabiles manus suas et elevatis oculis in coelum ad te Deum patrem suam omnipotentem* are an addition to the gospel narrative. The expression "lifting up His eyes to heaven" refers to the account given by the synoptic writers of the miraculous feeding of the multitudes.[1] In the liturgy the verbs *gratias agere* and *benedicere* are both used, whereas St. Matthew and St. Mark have only *benedicere,* and St. Luke and St. Paul only *gratias agere;* moreover *gratias agens* is rendered more explicit by the addition of *tibi,* sc. *Deo patri omnipotenti.* The Biblical *manducate* is amplified by the words *ex hoc omnes.* The Greek ὡσαύτως is rendered *simili modo* in the Roman and Ambrosian liturgies, but *similiter* in the manuscript and printed editions of the Vulgate. The liturgy translates μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι *postquam coenatum est,* but the Biblical text reads *postquam coenavit.* The liturgy inserts *praeclarum* before *calicem,* taking the adjectives from Ps. xxii. 5: *calix meus inebrians quam praeclarus est.*

The liturgical form of consecration for the bread is identical with the words of institution recorded by St. Matthew and St. Mark, except that in the latter the word *enim* is absent. St. Luke and St. Paul give additional words, that emphasize the sacrificial character of the act, and at the same time order its repetition, but these are omitted in the liturgy. The form of consecration for the wine differs from the words of institution recorded by the sacred writers; it is however compiled on the lines of these words, although it contains two additions. A short analysis will show how it is made up. The form: *hic est enim calix sanguinis mei novi et aeterni testamenti* is derived partly from St. Luke and St. Paul, and partly from St. Matthew and St. Mark; *hic est enim calix* are words taken from St. Luke and St. Paul, with the exception of *enim,* but the words that follow in the account given by these two writers, *novum testamentum in sanguine meo,* have them modified with reference to those recorded by St. Matthew and St. Mark, thus becoming the more intelligible form: *sanguinis mei novi testamenti.* There is nothing in the Greek or in the printed version of the Vulgate to justify the insertion of *et aeterni;* the two words occur, however, in the *Codex Veronensis,* an *Itala* manuscript of the fourth or fifth century. The new covenant, established by Christ when He celebrated the Eucharist, may aptly be termed "eternal." The old dispensation was preparatory in character and had therefore a limited duration, but the reign of the Messiah, ordained from the beginning, is the most perfect dispensation of God, and will last forever. The other addition, *mysterium fidei,* occurs in St. Paul's epistles[2] but not in the gospels. The Latin word *mysterium,* derived from the Greek μυστήριον, occurs frequently in the New Testament in various contexts. According to Biblical usage it designates the divine truths that by their nature and essence are concealed from man, and made known to him only by divine revelation. The allusion here is to the mystery of the real presence of Christ's blood under the form of wine. This is called a mystery of faith, because it is only by faith that man can grasp it, and because this doctrine forms a constituent part of our faith. *Sacramenta, quae vides in altari, aestimanda sunt non specie sed fide.*

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[1] Matthew xiv. 19; Mark vi. 41; Luke ix. 16.

[2] 1 Tim. iii. 9; compare the similar expression *pietatis sacramentum* (i.e. *mysterium*).

Many Catholic theologians think that the words *mysterium fidei* were uttered by our Lord at the Last Supper; according to the Roman Catechism they are a matter of tradition, which *catholicae veritatis interpres et custos nos docuit.* Pope Innocent III thought that they were inserted into the liturgy from St. Paul's First Epistle to Timothy.

The next words, *qui pro vobis et pro multis effundetur,* are taken from St. Luke and St. Matthew conjointly, and the conclusion, *in remissionem peccatorum,* from St. Matthew. Our Lord's command to repeat His act, placed by St. Luke after the transubstantiation of the bread, and by St. Paul also after that of the wine, is mentioned once only in the Canon, at the end of the Eucharistic act. The form of words approximates closely to those recorded in the second place by St. Paul, but its position has given rise to some slight modifications. Instead of the singular *hoc,* the liturgy has *haec,* referring to the transubstantiation of both bread and wine. St. Paul writes: *hoc facite, quotiescunque bibetis,* referring only to the consecrated wine, but in the Canon, as the reference is more general, we find *haec, quotiescunque feceritis. . . .* Lastly, instead of the Vulgate reading, *in meam commemorationem,* the liturgy has the better and more suitable form *in mei memoriam.*

From the differences between the liturgical wording and that of the gospels, and from the different translations of Greek expressions (*ὡσαύτως, simili modo, similiter; μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι, postquam coenatum est, postquam coenavit; εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν, in meam commemorationem, in mei memoriam*) we may infer with certainty that the liturgical text is very old, and dates from the apostolic age, as subsequently no one would have dared to make the slightest alteration in the text of the Bible.

V. The Treason of Judas Foretold; the Traitor's Departure

Matthew xxvi. 21–25

21. And whilst they were eating, he said: Amen I say to you, that one of you is about to betray me.

22. And they being very much troubled, began every one to say: Is it I, Lord?

23. But he answering said: He that dippeth his hand with me in the dish, he shall betray me.

24. The son of man indeed goeth, as it is written of him: but wo to that man, by whom the son of man shall be betrayed: It were better for him, if that man had not been born.

25. And Judas that betrayed him, answering said: Is it I, Rabbi? He saith to him: Thou hast said it.

Mark xiv. 18–21

18. And when they were at table and eating Jesus saith: Amen I say to you, one of you that eateth with me shall betray me.

19. But they began to be sorrowful, and to say to him one by one: Is it I?

20. Who saith to them: One of the twelve, who dippeth with me his hand in the dish.

21. And the son of man indeed goeth, as it is written of him: but wo to that man by whom the son of man shall be betrayed. It were better for him, if that man had not been born.

LUKE xxii. 21–23

21. But yet behold, the hand of him that betrayeth me is with me on the table.

22. And the son of man indeed goeth, according to that which is determined: but yet wo to that man by whom he shall be betrayed.

23. And they began to inquire among themselves which of them it was that should do this thing.

JOHN xiii. 10, 11, 18, 19, 21–30

10. JESUS saith to him: He that is washed, needed not but to wash his feet, but is clean wholly. And you are clean, but not all.

11. For he knew who he was that would betray him; therefore he said: You are not all clean.

18. I speak not of you all: I know whom I have chosen: but that the scripture may be fulfilled. He that eateth bread with me, shall lift up his heel against me.

19. At present I tell you, before it come to pass: that when it shall come to pass, you may believe that I am he.

21. When JESUS had said these things, he was troubled in spirit: and he testified, and said: Amen, amen I say to you, one of you shall betray me.

22. The disciples therefore looked one upon another, doubting to whom he spoke.

23. Now there was leaning on JESUS's bosom one of his disciples whom JESUS loved.

24. Simon Peter therefore beckoned to him, and said to him: Who is it of whom he speaketh?

25. He therefore leaning on the breast of JESUS saith to him: Lord, who is it?

26. JESUS answered: He it is to whom I shall reach bread dipped. And when he had dipped the bread, he gave it to Judas Iscariot, the son of Simon.

27. And after the morsel, satan entered into him. And JESUS said to him: That which thou dost, do quickly.

28. Now no man at the table knew to what purpose he said this unto him.

29. For some thought, because Judas had the purse, that JESUS had said to him: Buy those things which we have need of for the festival day: or that he should give something to the poor.

30. He therefore having received the morsel, went out immediately. And it was night.

This sad story is recorded by all four evangelists, very briefly by St. Luke, and most fully by St. John, who notes the exact sequence of events. The first allusion to His approaching betrayal was made in general terms by our Lord as He washed the apostles' feet and said: "You are clean, but not all."[1] The evangelist tells us that in these words Christ referred to Judas' treacherous designs, of which He was well aware.[2] A clearer allusion to His betrayal occurs in our Lord's explanation of the "washing of feet." After telling the apostles that they would be blessed if they practised humility and charity, He said: "I speak not of you all; I know whom I have chosen. But [I chose Judas] that the scripture may be fulfilled: 'He that eateth bread with me shall lift up his heel against me.'" These words are important for several reasons. Our Lord lays stress upon the fact that His betrayal was foretold in the Old Testament. The words are a free quotation from Ps. xl. 10, and are only indirectly Messianic; their immediate reference is to King David's sorrow over the disloyalty of his friend and companion Achitophel.[3] When regarded as prophetic, we may say that they were fulfilled when Judas treacherously kissed his Lord and Master and handed Him over to His enemies. The words show, moreover, that Jesus knew the character of each apostle, and, being aware that Judas was a traitor, was not deceived by him. They explain, too, why Judas was called to be an apostle, although our Lord knew beforehand that he would betray Him.

The accounts given by the evangelists prove that it is impossible to suppose our Lord to have been outwitted by Judas, for during the Last Supper He foretold His approaching betrayal and indicated the traitor. St. John tells us plainly that from the beginning of His intercourse with Judas, Jesus knew "who he was that would betray Him;"[4] and a full year before the Passion, had spoken of him as a devil,[5] i.e., a man of diabolical disposition. Our Saviour chose the apostles to be closely associated with Him during His life on earth, to be prepared for the future work, and to continue His own task on earth after His departure hence; we may well ask, therefore, why He chose Judas to be an apostle, in spite of having power to read all hearts, and in spite of knowing that Judas would betray Him. Our Lord was careful to state His reason. He chose Judas, fully realizing his baseness, in order that the Scripture might be fulfilled which foretold His betrayal by a friend. God had decreed that, as a climax to His mental

[1] John xiii. 10. [2] John xiii. 11. [3] 2 Kings xv. 31 *seqq.*
[4] John vi. 65. [5] John v. 71.

suffering, our Lord should endure among His intimate followers the presence of a man of the most horrible and hypocritical character, and should at last be betrayed by Him to His enemies.

Our Saviour was greatly moved by the thought of being betrayed. The horrible treachery, and the fact that His betrayer was a man called to the highest office, made a profound impression upon our Lord, and it was under the influence of powerful emotion that He solemnly and emphatically declared: "One of you shall betray me." Each successive prediction of the betrayal is more definite: the first time Jesus said that not all the apostles were clean; the second time He used the words of the Psalmist, and announced that one belonging to the inner circle of His followers would "lift up his heel" against Him; the third time He complained that He was about to be betrayed by one of those whom He had chosen to be His closest friends, whom He had loaded with benefits and called to an exalted office. This precise announcement of the impending treachery was intended by Christ to furnish the apostles with fresh evidence of His omniscience, and to convince them yet more firmly that their Master, thus betrayed, was indeed the Messiah.[1] A last solemn warning was given to the traitor in this repeated prediction of his sinful design, in order that he might repent, whilst he still had time.[2]

The effect of the announcement that the traitor belonged to the apostolic band was overwhelming. The details given by the evangelists, regarding the apostles' behavior after this disclosure, may be arranged in the following order. According to St. Matthew, they are at first "very much troubled;" then, as St. John says, they "looked one upon another," doubting to whom their Master spoke; then, as St. Luke tells us, they began to discuss the matter; and lastly, as we see from St. Matthew and St. Mark, each one turned to the Lord and asked: "Is it I?"[3] They did not doubt the truth of this disturbing announcement, but they were uncertain and embarrassed as to who the traitor was. It seems strange that they did not at once suspect Judas, who had frequently revealed his real

[1] John xiii. 19.
[2] Jerome ad Matth. xxvi. 21: *Qui de passione praedixerat, et de proditore praedicit, dans locum poenitentiae.*
[3] Compare Bynaeus, I, 7, 7.

character, especially in his use of the money entrusted to him, and quite recently when Mary anointed Jesus in Bethany.[1] So great, however, was their consciousness of their own frailty, that they did not dare to sit in judgment upon one of their fellows, and although their consciences acquitted them of treacherous designs, they dreaded the possibility of falling into evil.[2]

Only St. Matthew and St. Mark record our Lord's answer to the apostles' questions: "One of the twelve, who dippeth with me his hand in the dish, he shall betray me." In order to understand these words, we must notice that the Jewish Paschal ceremonial required a bowl of vinegar to be placed upon the table, so that the bitter herbs might be dipped into it. This bowl is probably the "dish" to which our Lord referred, not the other bowl, containing the Charoseth. Opinions are divided as to whether Christ in these words designated the traitor in general terms, as standing in so close a relation to Himself, or whether at this point He indicated him to the other apostles. The subsequent course of events, which St. John records most precisely, makes the former view the more probable, and in this case our Lord's words mean: "One of those who now celebrate with me this ardently desired feast, will betray me."[3]

The second and third allusions to the betrayal draw attention to two circumstances that intensify the enormity and horror of Judas' action: the exalted position occupied by the traitor, and the important occasion on which he planned to execute his design.

Some commentators regard Christ's words as indicating with more or less precision who the traitor was. Some think that His meaning was: The traitor is one of the three or four apostles who dipped their bitter herbs into the same bowl with me at the Paschal supper;[4] others assume that Judas in his shameless audacity alone of all the apostles dipped his herbs into the bowl with Jesus, after our Lord had announced His impending

[1] John xii. 1 *seq.*

[2] Jerome ad Matth. xxvi. 22: *Et certe noverant undecim apostoli; quod nihil tale contra Dominum cogitarent; sed plus credunt magistro quam sibi; pertimescentes fragilitatem suam tristes interrogant de peccato, cujus conscientiam non habebant.*

[3] Compare Bynaeus, I, 7, 4, 11; Jansenius: *Qui eadem mecum mensa et eodem cibo uti solet. Et ita haec verba non magis manifestant proditorem, quam antea, sed tantum exaggerant scelus.*

[4] Mald. ad Matth. xxvi. 23.

betrayal; the rest, overwhelmed with fear and horror, had withdrawn their hands.[1]

Immediately after the third prediction of His betrayal Jesus made a remark intended to console the loyal disciples and to admonish Judas: "The Son of Man indeed goeth, as it is written of him; but wo to that man, by whom the Son of Man shall be betrayed; it were better for him if that man had not been born." Our Lord's solicitude for His followers again reveals itself here; in order to strengthen their belief in Him as the Messiah, He points out that His death formed part of the divine scheme of salvation, and had been foretold in the Scriptures. The first of these statements is recorded by St. Luke, the second by St. Matthew and St. Mark.

Jesus here proclaimed the same truth with regard to the Old Testament as He taught the two disciples on the way to Emmaus, viz., that He must tread the path of suffering in order to return to His Father and enter the joys of heaven.[2] There indeed He speaks simply of His departure from the world and of going to the Father, but the context shows plainly that He was looking forward to His Passion, which would follow His betrayal by Judas. At the same time the verb used denotes the ready acquiescence in and obedience to His Father's will with which He entered upon His sufferings.[3] Moreover, He gave Judas one more proof of His love, by pointing out the terrible punishment to be inflicted upon the traitor: *poena praedicitur, ut quem pudor non vicerat, corrigant denuntiata supplicia.*[4] Our Lord's words, "It were better for him, if that man had not been born," show that the most fearful penalty awaited him, a penalty that would last forever: *longe enim satius est non esse, quam esse ad hoc tantum, ut semper miserrimus sit et perpetim ardeat.*[5] The emphatic use of *that man* is significant, — the man who has made up his mind to commit so abominable an action. Light is thrown upon what is said in this passage regarding Judas and the enormity of his sin, by a reference to our Lord's last prayer for His disciples. In that prayer Judas is called "the son of perdition," a name given elsewhere in the New Testament to Anti-Christ, and to no one else.

Simon Peter desired to know who the traitor was, probably in order that he might more easily and effectually defend his Master against the treachery. He tried to obtain definite in-

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[1] Jer. ad Matth. xxvi. 23: *Judas ceteris contristatis et retrahentibus manum et interdicentibus cibos ori suo temeritate et impudentia, qua proditurus erat, etiam manum cum magistro mittit in paropsidem.*

[2] Luke xxiv. 25–27.

[3] Mald.: *Christus indicat (scil. verbo "vadit") se non vi ex hoc mundo expelli, sed sponte sua exire.*

[4] Jerome, *ad loc.*

[5] Corn. à Lap., and others.

formation through St. John, who was leaning on Jesus' bosom. The fourth gospel alone records this episode.

In order to understand this account, we must study the archaeology of the subject. In course of time the Jews had adopted the Persian custom of lying at table, i.e., of resting the left elbow on a cushion, and turning the upper part of the body toward the table, whilst the feet were stretched out behind. This position was the usual one among Jews of the upper classes, especially on festal occasions, but even the poor assumed it when eating the Pasch, as it suggested the liberty gained by their departure from Egypt. Couches were arranged at three sides of the dining table, the fourth side being left accessible to the servants; hence not only the table with the couches, but also the whole room was called the *triclinium*. We may probably assume that at the last supper Jesus with Peter and John occupied the couch facing the short end of the table, whilst the other apostles, five on each side, lay on couches arranged beside the longer sides of the table. The place of each guest was regulated by his rank. The person highest in importance (Jesus) was in the middle, the second (Peter) was behind Him, further along the couch, so as to be able to stretch his right hand over the table; the third (John) lay in front of, and beside, the first, so that St. John rested on our Lord's bosom (= *in sinu recumbere*).

After the prediction of the betrayal, the apostles looked at one another, and John raised himself and looked at Peter, who seized the opportunity to make him a sign, and to whisper that he should ask Jesus to name the traitor. John lay down again on his Master's bosom, and asked, "Lord, who is it?" Jesus answered, "He it is to whom I shall reach bread dipped." And when He had dipped the bread, He gave it to Judas Iscariot. This episode, recorded by St. John, is not identical with that of which St. Matthew and St. Mark[1] give the account. The following was probably the order of events: According to St. Matthew and St. Mark, Jesus announced to all the apostles that one of those at table with Him would betray Him. From the fourth gospel we learn how Jesus afterwards made known to St. John that Judas was the traitor, and showed how the prophetical words "he that eateth bread with me" were fully realized in his case, since Judas was not only with them at table, but received a morsel of bread specially passed to him by his Master. What he received was not a piece of the Paschal lamb, but of unleavened bread, which may have been wrapped round with bitter herbs, and was dipped in either vinegar or the mixture called Charoseth. There are several arguments in support of this view. Both the Greek ψωμίον

[1] Matthew xxvi. 23; Mark xiv. 20.

and the Latin *buccella* mean bread; the Paschal supper, strictly so called, ended when the master of the house ate the last mouthful of flesh, and this was some time before Jesus handed the bread to Judas; moreover, the passage in the Psalm, to which reference is made by Christ, favors this interpretation.

Various answers have been given by the Fathers and the older commentators to the question, Why did our Lord give this piece of bread to Judas? St. Augustine[1] is inclined to regard it as a symbol of the traitor's craftiness; others think that by dipping the bread Jesus testified His goodness and mercy toward Judas even until the last moment. A few have suggested that the bread was Eucharistic, but as early a writer as St. Augustine condemned this opinion as one which could be held by none except a superficial reader of the Biblical text. It is possible that this opinion gave rise to the custom that prevailed in a few places until it was condemned by the Church, of giving the laity Eucharistic bread which had previously been dipped into the chalice.[2]

St. Matthew alone tells us that Judas in his hypocrisy and insolence went so far as to ask our Lord whether he were the traitor, a question that Jesus answered in the affirmative. In harmonizing the various accounts we have to notice that Judas probably asked this question immediately after the short conversation between our Lord and John, so that Christ's reply was given almost at the same time as He passed the bread to Judas.[3] Jansenius,[4] however, thinks that our Lord had answered Judas before John spoke, whilst others[5] again assume that Judas did not ask whether he were the traitor until after he had received the bread.

Our Lord's brief conversation with both Judas and John was carried on in a whisper, so that the other apostles did not hear what was said. After Judas had received the morsel of bread Satan entered into him. St. John's words do not mean that Judas was thenceforth possessed by a devil, but that he opened his heart completely to diabolical influences, and his treacherous purpose developed into a firm resolution which was speedily put into action. Jesus said to him: "That which thou dost [i.e., intendest to do], do quickly." Our Lord, knowing

[1] Tract. 62 in Joann.: *Fortassis per panis tinctionem illius significans fictionem. Non enim omnia, quae tinguntur, abluuntur, sed ut inficiantur, nonnulla tinguntur.*

[2] Compare Estius, Annot. *ad loc.*, also Calmet.

[3] So Langen.

[4] In Matthew xxvi. 25.

[5] Mald., Lucas Brug., Corn. à Lap.

that Judas was resolved to betray Him, used these words to show that Judas was a free agent, and that He Himself had no fear of death, but on the contrary longed to die, in order to secure the salvation of men. At this point Judas quitted the Supper Room, and forsook the company of the apostles, having become an instrument of the devil. We have already discussed the spiritual process by which Judas ceased to be an apostle and became a devil through the betrayal of his Master.

It is a much debated point whether Judas left the Supper Room before or after the institution of the most holy Eucharist, and, if after, whether he, like the other apostles, received Holy Communion. The chief difficulty on the subject arises from the fact that St. Matthew and St. Mark record the prediction of the betrayal before giving an account of the Last Supper, while St. Luke reverses the order of events. The question is whether the former evangelists or St. Luke adhere strictly to the chronological sequence. Commentators are divided in opinion; the majority of the Fathers and earlier writers believe that Judas did not leave the Supper Room until after the celebration of the Eucharist, and their reasons for this belief are discussed very thoroughly by Cornelius à Lapide (ad Matth. xxvi. 20). On the other hand, both in the east and in the west a contrary opinion has from the earliest period been held by some scholars. According even to the Apostolic Constitutions Judas did not receive Holy Communion, for they declare that after Jesus had given them the Communion — "Judas was not present with us" — they went out to the mount of Olives.[1] Cyrillonas, a Syriac writer living at the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth centuries, in his first homily on Christ's Pasch, speaks of Judas as having quitted the Supper Room before the consecration of the bread and wine.

St. Hilary of Poitiers emphatically excludes the traitor from participation in the Eucharistic feast;[2] and Pope Innocent III is of the same opinion.[3] They were followed subsequently by other commentators, a list of whom is given by Bynaeus[4] and Cornely.[5] Many who think that Judas received Holy Communion, admit that there are good reasons for taking the opposite view.[6] Among modern scholars, the Protestants with hardly an exception exclude Judas from the Eucharistic supper, and the same is done among Catholic authors by Bishop Laurent,[7] Cornely,[8] Knabenbauer, and many others.

In his 62nd tract on St. John's gospel, however, St. Augustine points out the consideration that should guide us in discussing this question;[9] accord-

[1] Const. Apost. v. 14.
[2] In Matth. can. 30, 2: *sine quo (sc. Juda) pascha accepto calice et fracto pane conficitur, dignus enim aeternorum sacramentorum communione non fuerat.*
[3] De s. altaris mysterio, 4, 13.
[4] De morte Christi, I. 7, 1.
[5] Curs. script. s., libri introd. III, 298.
[6] Mald. ad Matth. xxvi. 20.
[7] Das heilige Evang., 636 *seqq.*
[8] Curs. script. s., libri introd. III, 298.
[9] Aug. tract. 62 in Joann.: *Intelligendum est, quod jam omnibus eis*

ing to him the matter is purely exegetical, and turns upon the further question whether St. Luke's account is chronologically accurate or not. The latter question must be answered affirmatively. In his introduction St. Luke says that it is his intention to observe chronological order in his work; therefore we should *a priori* expect him, rather than the other evangelists, to record events in their proper sequence. This assumption amounts almost to certainty when we take into account the peculiarities in St. Luke's report of the Eucharistic celebration. Though very short, it has the following significant characteristics: St. Luke alone tells us that the supper began at the customary hour (*cum venisset hora:* the other evangelists write *vespere facto*); he alone distinguishes the Paschal cup from the chalice of the Eucharist; and he alone remarks that the chalice was consecrated μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι. These minute details enable us to perceive the course of events during that evening, and decidedly support the theory that St. Luke adheres to the chronological order. Moreover, the words πλὴν ἰδού, expressing a sharp contrast, are recorded by this evangelist as used by our Saviour when turning away from celebrating the Eucharist to speak of His approaching betrayal: these words would have their full force only if Judas had been still present at the Eucharist. They emphasize the contrast between our Lord's act of love performed in the Supper Room, when He gave His blood, shed in sacrifice, to His followers, and the full treachery of Judas, who, whilst sitting at the feast, plotted how to shed his Master's blood on the cross. Against this theory it is urged that St. Luke's arrangement is due to his regard for his subject matter, rather than for chronology, that in placing the account of Judas after the celebration of the Eucharist, he was influenced by a desire to draw out the contrast between the charity displayed by our Lord, and the black ingratitude of the apostle. In reply it may be asked: May not Jesus Himself have done this? How can it be proved that a practical lesson of this kind did not find its expression in the historical course of events, but was imported by St. Luke into his account?

Even if St. Matthew and St. Mark record the denunciation of the traitor in its proper place, it does not follow that he did not assist at the celebration of the Eucharist. Neither evangelist says that Judas left the Supper Room after his treacherous intentions were revealed. It is held by some that Judas could not possibly have remained in the room after this disclosure, but there are strong arguments against this theory. As has been already pointed out, St. Mark's account contains no definite indication of the traitor, but merely the assertion that he was one of the apostles; in fact after Jesus had plainly informed John that Judas was the traitor, and after Judas had gone out, the other apostles, quite unaware of his treachery, supposed him to have gone to execute some commission for his Master. No public and direct denunciation therefore took place, such as the advocates of the above-mentioned theory assume to have occurred. St. Matthew tells us that, even after the brief conversation between our Lord and St. John, at the very moment of receiving the dipped bread, the symbolical meaning of which could not have been obscure to him after what had already passed, Judas still ventured to ask whether he were the traitor; and St. John says that Judas, though in a whisper definitely denounced as the traitor, still did not withdraw until directly ordered by Jesus to do so. Hence

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(*sc. apostolis*) *distribuerat Dominus sacramentum corporis et sanguinis sui, ubi et ipse Judas, sicut Lucas "evidentissime" narrat, ac "deinde" ad hoc ventum est, ubi secundum narrationem Joannis apertissime Dominus per buccellam tinctam atque porrectam suum exprimit traditorem.*

we are forced to conclude that, according to the gospel account of him, Judas was not the sort of man to leave the room at once when his treacherous plans were revealed. St. Mark even seems to suggest that Judas was present at the Last Supper, for he writes that Jesus spoke of the "twelve" who were at the table with Him, and says that they "all" drank of the chalice.[1]

Again, recent commentators have attempted, by supplying from St. John's account what is wanting in St. Matthew's, to show, at least as probable, that Judas left the Supper Room before the celebration of the Eucharist. It is, however, a doubtful method for arriving at an even probable result, since St. John omits the institution of the Eucharist altogether. The line of argument is the following: John xiii. 1–30, at the conclusion of which Judas' departure is recorded, forms a paragraph so closely interconnected that it would be impossible to insert into it any account of the institution of the Eucharist, which must therefore have taken place after the events recorded in that paragraph. Against this argument we may point out that the verses in John xiii. 1–30 do not hang so closely together as has been assumed; in fact the connection of verse 20 with the preceding verses has been frequently discussed, and some have gone so far as to regard verse 20 as a marginal gloss incorporated at a later date into the text; others again have abandoned all attempts to establish a connection. Indeed, there seems to be between verses 1–19 and 20–31 a gap where the account of the Last Supper might be inserted.

The majority of recent commentators are influenced by psychological rather than exegetical considerations when trying to prove that Judas took no part in the Eucharistic feast. Among Catholic scholars Laurent is emphatic on this point; he thinks that it would have been inconsistent with the majesty and dignity of the God-Man to pass into the body of a traitor after the devil had entered into him. Laurent finds further reasons for exclusion of Judas from the Eucharist in the fact that Jesus appointed His apostles to be priests, and that in His lament over Judas' treachery there is no allusion at all to an unworthy communion.[2] As to the former reason, we may notice that other commentators[3] see a reference to Judas' elevation to the priesthood at the Last Supper in the Psalmist's words: *et episcopatum ejus accipiat alter.*[4]

It may be urged, against this line of argument, that its reasons are of a subjective character, and, however weighty they appear, they have very little force as evidence, especially since strictly exegetical considerations show that the opposite of what they profess to prove is certainly, or at least most probably, the truth.

Thus we arrive at the following conclusion: Exegetical reasons and the vast majority of the Fathers and commentators, especially those of earlier date, but also some recent scholars,[5] support the theory that Judas joined in the celebration of the Last Supper and received Holy Communion with the other apostles. Hence in the wonderful hymn *Pange lingua gloriosi* it is said correctly:

Cibum turbae duodenae
Se dat suis manibus.

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[1] Compare Mark xiv. 17, 20, 23. [2] Laurent, Das heil. Evang. 636 *seqq.*
[3] Suarez and Corn. à Lap. [4] Ps. lxviii. 26; cviii. 8; compare Acts i. 20.
[5] J. Grimm (6, 133) writes: "I am convinced that the account given in the gospels plainly records, in its historical connection, the fact that Judas was still with the others at table, when the Holy Eucharist was instituted."

VI. The Strife among the Apostles

Luke xxii. 24–30

24. And there was also a strife amongst them, which of them should seem to be greater.

25. And he said to them: The kings of the gentiles lord it over them; and they that have power over them, are called beneficent.

26. But you not so: but he that is the greater among you, let him become as the younger: and he that is the leader, as he that serveth.

27. For which is greater, he that sitteth at table or he that serveth? Is not he that sitteth at table? but I am in the midst of you as he that serveth.

28. And you are they who have continued with me in my temptations.

29. And I dispose to you, as my Father hath disposed to me, a kingdom.

30. That you may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom: and may sit upon thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel.

Chronological Question. Many different answers have been given to the question as to where this section regarding the strife among the apostles, recorded by St. Luke alone, ought to stand in the history of events at the Last Supper. Certain indications seem to be given by the evangelist himself. We know that in the introduction to his gospel he states the intention of setting forth in order the narration of the occurrences in our Lord's life, that is to say, he aims at preserving the chronological sequence. Now he places his account of this dispute after that of the institution of the Eucharist, to which he seems to allude by his manner of introducing the story of the dispute. The words "and there was also a strife" look as if a further detail were being added to something already reported, and our Saviour Himself, in speaking of the strife, apparently refers to His washing of the disciples' feet as to an event that had already taken place.

In all probability the strife for precedence occurred after the celebration of the Eucharist and after the traitor's departure.[1] On the other hand, many commentators connect it with the washing of feet, either preceding it, and so giving occasion for it,[2] or actually motived by the order in which our Lord washed the disciples' feet.[3] Cornely is of opinion that the quarrel preceded the institution of the Eucharist, and was separated from it by several utterances of our Lord.[4]

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[1] Thus Lamy, Laurent, Schanz, and others. [2] Salmeron, for instance.
[3] St. John Chrys. and others. [4] Curs. script. s., libri introd. III, 298.

Although very various opinions have been expressed regarding the cause of the quarrel, it can be determined with tolerable certainty. On a previous occasion a similar dispute had arisen.[1] At that time Jesus, being on His way to Jerusalem, had spoken of His resurrection, and had promised the apostles that they should sit on thrones and judge the people. They assumed, therefore, that the glorious Messianic kingdom was about to be established, and clamored for honorable positions in it. If we bear in mind the connection of events and the substance of our Lord's instruction, we shall see that the strife in the Supper Room was due to a similar cause. Jesus had been speaking of the Kingdom of God as coming,[2] and had foretold the new covenant and His own departure from this world.[3] All this encouraged the apostles to think that the foundation of the ardently desired kingdom of the Messiah was at hand: *qui quae dixerat Jesus de proxima sua morte, sic accipiebant, quasi regnum ejus statueretur.*[4] Our Lord's own allusion to the glorious rule of the apostles in His Kingdom[5] makes it extremely probable that their anticipation of the approaching reign of the Messiah on earth had given rise to the quarrel.

Precedence in the Messianic Kingdom. From various indications and allusions in their Master's discourses, the apostles thought that the establishment of the Messianic Kingdom was at hand, and consequently they began to dispute as to "which of them should seem to be greater." The evangelist lays stress upon the subject of their dispute by prefixing the article: τὸ τίς . . . μείζων. The disciples did not merely discuss which of them should *be* the greater, and occupy the higher position in the Kingdom of the Messiah, but also which should *seem* to be greater, and enjoy a higher reputation among the members of this Kingdom. In addressing the apostles, our Lord did not lose sight of this motive for their quarrel. They took for granted that, owing to their relation to their Master, they would occupy prominent positions in the Kingdom that they anticipated in accordance with their own ideas; what they wanted to know was who should take precedence of the others in rank and repute. Our Lord had frequently shown special favor to Peter, James, and John; He had repeatedly singled out Peter before all the other apostles, and at the Last Supper John enjoyed peculiar intimacy with Him; consequently the question was natural to their minds. The very fact of raising such a question, however, shows how defective a knowledge the apostles still possessed of the nature of the Messianic Kingdom, and how far they still were from perfect purity of

[1] Compare Matthew xx. 25–28; Mark x. 41–45; Luke ix. 46–48.
[2] Luke xxii. 18.
[3] Luke xxii. 22.
[4] Lamy.
[5] Luke xxii. 30.

intention. Still, we need not feel surprised that such a question was asked right after the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, because it was not until later, through the power of the Holy Spirit, that the apostles were fully enlightened and purified.

This strife among His disciples prompted our Lord to deliver to them a discourse, which may be summed up as follows. He taught them what spirit should influence them as rulers of the Church, what task they had to accomplish, and what reward for loyalty and perseverance would be theirs in His Kingdom. The apostles must, He said, be filled with the spirit of true humility, and discharge their functions as rulers for the benefit and in the service of their subordinates. This instruction and admonition were rendered more emphatic by our Lord's contrasting the behavior and activity required of the apostles with the rule and aims of Gentile potentates. Despotism prevailed in the pagan world: "The kings of the gentiles lord it over them," i.e., over their subjects. The context shows that the verb translated as "lord it" denotes a use of royal power that aims simply at a display of authority and at forcing the subjects to pay unconditional obedience. Such a dominion is harsh and tyrannical, selfish and arrogant; it regards only the advantage of the ruler and overlooks the welfare of his subjects, who are considered as a mere rabble possessing no rights. Jansenius gives a very good explanation of *dominari,* as used here: *dominandi et imperandi fastum ex principatu quaerunt, utpote cum solo dominatu, non utilitate subditorum metientes.* A further characteristic of the relation between ruler and ruled in the pagan world is indicated by Jesus in the words: "they that have power . . . are called benefactor." "Benefactor," like "Father of the country," was a title of honor. We know from Josephus[1] that, when Vespasian entered the city of Tiberias, the populace welcomed him with cries of "Saviour and Benefactor." Two of the Macedonian sovereigns of Egypt, Ptolemy III and Ptolemy VII, were called "Euergetes," a title meaning that the bearer had deserved well of his country and people, and so had shown himself a public benefactor. The case which our Saviour had in view was different. The context proves Jesus to have been

[1] B. J. III, 9, 8.

alluding to the fact that pagan tyrants sometimes assumed the title of benefactor, and were so called by their subjects, although they did nothing at all to deserve it. The tyranny of pagan governors corrupted and degraded their subordinates to such a degree that frequently not only flatterers and sycophants, but also the people in general, gave the name of benefactors to their oppressors. The history of the Roman Empire furnishes instances of this lamentable effect of tyrannical government.

According to Christ's teaching, the relation between ruler and ruled was to be quite different in the Messianic kingdom. Hence to His representatives, the apostles, He said: "He that is the greater among you, let him become as the younger." The expression employed assumes plainly that all officials in the Kingdom will be great, but that one among them will be the greater, and take precedence of the rest. Greatness in the Messianic kingdom is to reveal itself in the greater becoming as the younger, i.e., in his being filled with true and genuine humility. There can be no doubt that our Saviour impressed upon all the apostles the duty of humility, but the form in which He did so is significant. He did not say: "You, being great, must become as the younger"; but, "the greater among you, let him become as the younger," thus making known the truth that the heads of the Church should practise humility in a degree corresponding to their dignity and position. By the spirit of humility the apostles were to overcome the heathen nations plunged in vain pride and arrogance, and, as representatives of a humble Saviour, they were so to practise this virtue as to preserve the spirit of humility in their subordinates. Many commentators think that here, as on a previous occasion,[1] Jesus was speaking primarily of the way to greatness in the Kingdom of the Messiah: *qui vult inter vos esse maximus, fiat minimus, hac ratione fiet maximus.*[2] This view is not quite accurate. The words show that our Lord was instructing those who already occupied an exalted position in the Church how they should behave, and by what spirit they should be guided. On the other hand it is true that spiritual dignity is enhanced by a genuinely humble disposition in him

[1] Matthew xx. 26.

[2] Corn. à Lap., Lamy, and others.

who bears it, and shines forth conspicuously in the true greatness and majesty that Christ desired His followers to possess. In this sense St. Augustine's impressive words are applicable to all dignitaries of the Church: *cogitas magnam fabricam extruere celsitudinis? de fundamento prius cogita humilitatis.*[1]

With humility the apostles were to unite self-sacrificing labor for the welfare of the faithful: "he that is the leader [let him become] as he that serveth." They are indeed chiefs and rulers in the Church of Christ, and as such possess full authority over their subjects, but their power is to be used in the service and for the good of the faithful. St. Peter, the chief *per excellentiam,* expanded his Master's words in an instruction addressed to the priests of the Church, and wrote: "Feed the flock of God which is among you, taking care of it, not by constraint, but willingly, according to God; not for filthy lucre's sake, but voluntarily; neither as lording it over the clergy, but being made a pattern of the flock from the heart."[2] A ruler in the Church is to exercise his authority, not in order to act as lord, still less in order to gratify his own selfish aims by harshness towards others, but so as to serve the faithful and promote their welfare. Christ speaks of His own manner of acting as a model for the right exercise of the pastoral office. "Which," He asks, "is greater, he that sitteth at table or he that serveth? Is not he that sitteth at table? But I am in the midst of you as he that serveth." The interrogation makes the words more vivid and expressive. In the statement: "I am in the midst of you as he that serveth," the pronoun "I" is emphatic, — I, your Lord and Master. To the question as to which of the services rendered to the apostles our Saviour had in view, various answers are given. Quite contrary to the actual facts of the case, some commentators refer to what the Jewish ritual required Jesus to do during the Paschal supper; they forget that He then acted as host, drinking first, and then giving wine to the others, imparting instructions, inviting the disciples to offer thanks to God, and finally concluding the feast. The form of the sentence seems to show that Jesus, in uttering these words, had in view, not His services rendered to the apostles in general, but a special

[1] Sermo 10, de verb. Dom.

[2] Peter v. 2, 3.

service rendered to those then gathered around Him. If this surmise be correct, He was referring to His having washed their feet, thus acting as a humble servant to His apostles.

By humble and faithful service in the Kingdom of Christ on earth, the apostles were to earn great happiness and glory in His Kingdom in heaven. This is the fundamental idea in the second part of our Lord's discourse, and it is closely connected with the cause of the disciples' quarrel: *postquam modestiam docuit, apostolis Dominus, spem, quam regni conceperant, confirmavit.*[1] Our Lord began by alluding to the loyalty and perseverance that the disciples had already displayed: "You are they who have continued with me in my temptations." By "temptations" we must understand all the various sorrows that Jesus endured on earth. He calls them temptations, *His* temptations, because He had to bear them in accordance with His heavenly Father's will, and thus show His perfect submission to it. Our Saviour recognized the fact that the apostles had been faithful to Him hitherto, although many others had forsaken Him: *constanter mihi in tribulationibus adhaesistis, aliis me deserentibus.* His commendation of their fidelity includes an exhortation to persevere in the same, for the context makes it clear that perseverance is a necessary condition to the fulfillment of the glorious promise that Jesus went on to make to the apostles: "And I dispose to you, as my Father hath disposed to me, a Kingdom." The introductory words "and I" are emphatic. The apostles have been faithful to Jesus; He, their Master, will in His turn reward them plentifully. In their favor He disposes of the Kingdom of heavenly bliss and glory, giving it to them as their own possession. He goes on to speak of the happiness that they will enjoy and the position they will occupy in His Kingdom. He compares His own arrangement for them with His Father's designs for Himself. This comparison is explained in three ways.[2] If we take into account the occurrence that called forth the speech and the following verse, that contains an elucidation of it, the meaning seems to be: Just as God the Father ordained from all eternity that I, the Messiah, should be lord of the Messianic kingdom, so do I ordain that you apostles shall share my happiness and authority in this

[1] Lamy.

[2] Compare Mald. *ad loc.*

kingdom. Many commentators believe the word *sicut* to indicate that, for the apostles too, the way of humiliation and suffering trodden by our Lord was the only path whereby they could enter the Kingdom.[1]

Both in the Old[2] and in the New[3] Testament enjoyment of the happiness of heaven is frequently represented as participation at a feast. Our Lord makes use of the same metaphor here, to express the bliss that the apostles will share with Him. Very many commentators see in the words "at *my* table" an allusion to the honors awaiting the apostles in heaven: *ut tanquam primi proceres regni mei veris omnis generis deliciis ac voluptatibus mecum perfruamini, videlicet ut laborum ita et honoris quietisque socii.*[4]

In the Kingdom of Heaven the apostles were to enjoy peculiar honor and to possess judicial authority; they were to sit on thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel. Lamy states very clearly the connection between these and the preceding words: *honos est in mensae regalis consortio; potestas in judiciorum participatione.* Reference to the parallel passage in St. Matthew's gospel[5] shows that our Lord was thinking of the general judgment, which He described more fully in His last eschatological discourse.[6]

The following questions require a short discussion: What is the meaning of the verb *judging* in this passage? What were the judicial functions of the apostles to be? Whom were they to judge? Maldonatus, like many other commentators, thinks that "judge" is here equivalent to "condemn," and understands by the twelve tribes of Israel the unbelieving Jews. Regarding the judicial functions of the apostles he says: *Apostolos judicaturos, tanquam doctores tanquam testes accusantes quodammodo eos, qui sibi evangelium praedicantibus et salutis viam docentibus credere noluerunt.*[7] Christ taught, however, quite definitely that the last judgment, to which He alludes here, was to be universal, affecting good and bad alike,[8] and consequently it seems unnecessary to limit the force of the verb κρίνειν. According to Holy Scripture, not only the apostles, but the faithful in general, and especially the Ninevites who did penance, are to sit as judges with Christ. As to the judicial activity of the apostles, it is clear that on this subject it is not enough to adopt the theory of what is called

[1] Compare Luke xxiv. 26; Phil. ii. 9.
[2] For instance, Is. xxv. 6.
[3] Matthew viii. 11, xxii. 1; Luke xiv. 15 *seqq.*
[4] Jansenius.
[5] Matthew xix. 28.
[6] Matthew xxiv. 30 *seqq.*, xxv. 31 *seqq.*
[7] ad Matth. xix. 28.
[8] Compare Matthew xxv. 31 *seqq.*; John v. 28, 29.

comparative judgment. But to assume that their whole duty as judges will be to introduce the faithful to the bliss assigned to them by Christ, seems an inadequate interpretation of the text, which indicates that at the general judgment the apostles will co-operate in a special, positive manner, though in complete subordination to and concurrence with Christ, the Judge of the world. As a rule the expression "the twelve tribes of Israel" is understood to mean, not the Jewish nation, but the whole number of the faithful, Israel *secundum spiritum*. In support of this interpretation the following arguments may be adduced. All nations are to be gathered together before the judgment seat of Christ;[1] the judicial functions possessed by the apostles belong to them in virtue of the exalted position that they hold in the Church of Christ, of which the Jewish nation with its twelve tribes was a type. Others think that by "the twelve tribes of Israel" we must understand the Jews, but that our Lord, in using the expression, did not mean that the apostles would judge only the Jews and used it merely to make plain to them their great authority and dignity in heaven. *Majoris honoris opinionem non capiebant Judaei, quam quo fruerentur phylarchae, nempe qui duodecim tribuum Israël principes erant.*[2]

VII. Our Lord's Prayer for Simon Peter

Luke xxii. 31, 32

31. And the Lord said: Simon, Simon, behold satan hath desired to have you that he may sift you as wheat.

32. But I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not: and thou being once converted, confirm thy brethren.

Great happiness and glory were destined for the apostles in heaven,[3] but before they could enter upon the possession of the good things in store for them, they would have to endure and overcome dangerous assaults. During this period, so full of troubles and perils, Simon Peter, the chief of the apostles, had to act as the divinely appointed foundation of the Church.—Such are the principal thoughts expressed in our Lord's brief address to Peter. "And the Lord said: Simon, Simon, behold satan hath desired to have you that he may sift you as wheat." —Before leaving the apostles, Christ warned them several times of the dangers threatening them.[4] He did this, lest they should yield to a false idea of safety, and fail to provide against times of trial, for *praevisa ac provisa tela minus feriunt,* and also in order that when the foretold temptations came upon them, their faith in their Master's omniscience might be strengthened. The warning to St. Peter was given in an un-

[1] Matthew xxv. 32.
[2] Lamy.
[3] Luke xxii. 29, 30.
[4] e.g. John xvi. 1 *seqq.*

usually solemn and impressive form and for a very special purpose.

Although Christ had previously addressed all the apostles, and although He now spoke of sufferings that awaited all His disciples, on this occasion He turned to Peter alone, and the repetition of the name Simon gives emphasis to his words and lays stress upon the serious character of the situation: *Repetitio nominis attentioni ejus excitandae et affectui suo tanquam serio loquentis indicando inservit.*[1] The form of address is analogous to that used by our Lord when giving Simon the name of Peter,[2] when announcing his primacy,[3] and when bestowing upon him the supreme pastoral office.[4]

The prediction of the impending struggles is introduced by the words: "Satan hath desired to have you;" i.e., he is eager to have you under his control, that he may dispose of you according to his own designs. The chief of the evil spirits is aptly called "Satan," because being the most bitter foe and antagonist of Christ and His work, he assailed most violently His representatives, the apostles.[5] The expression is suggestive of one occurring in the book of Job,[6] and lays stress on two truths: Great dangers await the apostles, but they can be tempted only with the sanction of God, who desires their salvation.[7]

Satan's intention in assailing the apostles is indicated by our Lord in the words: "that he may sift you as wheat."

The metaphor becomes intelligible if we remember that among the Jews corn, after threshing, was winnowed, i.e., cast against the wind by means of a winnowing shovel, in order to separate the grains from the chaff. The corn thus separated was, as a rule, sifted, and then heaped together, all refuse having been removed. The metaphor of the sieve expresses the great and dangerous assaults which the apostles would have to undergo from Satan, who desired to shake the sieve so violently that the grains of wheat would fly out with the chaff, and so be lost;[8] in other words, by means of attacks and persecutions of every imaginable kind Satan hoped so

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[1] Jansenius.
[2] John i. 42.
[3] Matthew xvi. 17.
[4] John xxi. 15.
[5] Compare Comm. ad Joh. viii. 44.
[6] i. 6 *seqq.*
[7] Bede *ad loc.*: *Verum, cum satanas expetivit eos tentare, et velut, qui triticum purgat, ventilando concutere, docet, nullius fidem a diabolo nisi Deo permittente tentari.*
[8] Compare Laurent, *ad loc.*

to disturb the apostles that they would waver in their faith, and fall away, and possibly be lost. Our Lord's words show that Satan aimed especially at imperilling, falsifying, and actually destroying their faith; these attempts on the part of the evil one are explicable when we remember the great value and fundamental importance of faith, and also the fact that the apostles' special task was to explain and preach the true faith and to maintain its purity. In further reply to the question why Christ used the metaphor of a sieve to indicate the dangers with which Satan was threatening the apostles, we may say: this metaphor expresses not only the violent attacks and trials which the apostles would have to undergo, but also the actual result which God desired their temptations to effect, viz., their complete cleansing and purifying from evil.[1] St. Peter himself expresses the same thought in his first epistle, where he uses an Old Testament metaphor and compares the purifying of men by means of suffering and persecution with the refining of gold in the furnace; "that the trial of your faith (much more precious than gold which is tried by the fire) may be found unto praise and glory and honour at the appearing of Jesus Christ."[2]

Our Lord, however, opposed His powerful and efficacious intercession with God to the assaults of the devil: "I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not." A short time subsequently our Saviour prayed for all the apostles collectively, because all alike were called to carry to the whole world the tidings of salvation; He prayed that they might be protected in the wicked world wherein they had to labor; He prayed that God would sanctify them for their Messianic office, and He prayed that, after successfully completing their task in spite of all difficulties, they might gain admission to the Beatific Vision in heaven. But in the passage under consideration our Saviour first foretold that all the apostles would have to undergo terrible trials, but to Peter alone He spoke of His powerful intercession, saying nothing at all about praying for the others. It is undeniable that at first sight our Lord's action on this occasion appears unusual. How could their loving Master, anxious for the salvation of all His disciples, foretell that all would be assailed by the devil, and yet intercede for only one of them? This question must be answered in accordance with the subsequent allusion in the passage before us, and with the definite testimony in the gospels and Acts of the Apostles regarding St. Peter's position in the apostolic band. Our Lord's peculiar solicitude for Simon Peter was due to this apostle's singular position, as chief of the apostles

[1] Compare Calmet, *ad loc.*
[2] 1 Peter i. 7; compare Ps. lxv. 10; Zach. xiii. 9; Mal. iii. 2, 3.

and as the foundation stone of the Church. Christ's behavior can be satisfactorily explained only if we assume that His prayer for the prince of the apostles and for the firm establishment of the Church included prayer for all the other apostles and for the entire Church.[1] Christ did not pray that St. Peter might not be tempted, but that his faith might not fail. Apart from the great value and importance of faith in itself, our Lord probably prayed for St. Peter's faith, because on account of his faith and his fearless profession of it this apostle had been deemed worthy to become the foundation stone of the Church. Jesus prayed that Peter's faith might not fail. The Greek verb means: diminish, fade away, cease. In Attic Greek it was used in speaking of an eclipse of the sun. Christ prayed, therefore, that his faith might not diminish, fade away, or cease, that it might suffer no eclipse, no temporary obscurity. Others give a different explanation, viz., Jesus prayed that Peter's faith might not completely fail, might not permanently disappear, but undergo at the most a passing eclipse, a temporary darkness. These interpretations are partly read into the text, partly altogether contrary to the text: for Jesus prayed precisely that Peter's faith should *not* be eclipsed, i.e., that it should not even for a time grow dim and faint. According to the words of the Bible, Jesus prayed that Peter's faith might continue permanently unscathed, and that the faith which Peter had already professed publicly should be preserved always, in all its fullness. The earlier commentators do not often discuss the precise force of the verb employed, but where they mention it, they give it a more general application. Tirinus writes: *ut non extinguatur, non intermoriatur fides tua;* De la Haye: *ut non cesset fides tua;* Jansenius jun.: *ut non penitus eradicetur et extinguatur;* Calmet: *ut fide non cadas.*

[1] Leo the Great, Sermo 4: *Commune erat omnibus periculum de tentatione formidinis, et divinae protectionis auxilio pariter indigebant, quoniam diabolus omnes exagitare, omnes cupiebat elidere; et tamen specialis a Domino Petri cura suscipitur, et pro fide Petri proprie supplicatur, tanquam aliorum status certiori sit futurus, si mens principis victa non fuerit.* — Bossuet, Medit. die 70: *Satanas, inquit, expetivit vos, ut omnes cribraret, ego autem Petre rogavi pro te, pro te in particulari, pro te distincte: non quod alios neglexerit, sed, ut patres exponunt, quod firmato capite impedire voluit, ne membra nutarent.* Compare Jansenius *ad loc.: rogavi pro te peculiariter tanquam pro capite ceterorum, per quem reliquos ad salutem adducere decrevi.*

Some difficult questions arise at this point:

(i) Did our Lord's intercession include the moment of Peter's fall, or did it refer only to the period after His own death?

(ii) If it refers also to the time of the fall, how can we reconcile Christ's efficacious intercession on behalf of Peter's faith with the fact that this apostle so shortly afterwards denied his Master?

These two questions are undoubtedly the reasons why many of the earlier commentators give only a vague explanation of the words *non deficere*. Christ's intercession for Peter referred both to the present and to the future, as the explanation of the second half of the verse will show. Maldonatus adopts this view, and his opinion is the more important because he takes *conversus* adverbially, and does not connect it with Peter's recovery after his fall.[1]

Like Maldonatus, commentators both ancient and modern, almost without exception, see in Christ's words a reference to Peter's denial.[2] Schanz does this,[3] and remarks that the addition of the words "that thy faith fail not" indicates that Peter, having received through God's revelation the true faith in the Son of God, now, through that Son's intercession, received assurance that his faith would stand firm, in spite of his temporary weakness. If, however, Christ's intercession was efficacious, we may ask how Peter could nevertheless deny his Master. The answer to this question is given by Ven. Bede in the passage already quoted. Maldonatus discusses it more fully; he asks: *quo ergo modo Petrus negavit, si pro eo Christus orans, ne ejus fides deficeret, exauditus est pro sua reverentia?* and he replies: *facilis responsio. Negare, se nosse Christum, non fuit ejus fidem deficere, sed tentari. Et non dixerat se oraturum Christus, ut non tentaretur, sed ut non deficeret fides ejus.* Many other commentators give a similar reply. We shall have to discuss the nature and significance of Peter's denial in its proper place; here it will suffice to point out the following facts as tending to throw light on the matter: According to the unanimous testimony of the evangelists, the questions addressed to St. Peter in the atrium of the high priest's house merely concerned his connection with Jesus, and not his belief in Jesus as the Messiah.[4] Even if his answer to the second question, in the form recorded by St. Matthew, could be regarded as a denial of Christ as the Messiah (and a few commentators think that it may be regarded thus), we should still have to remember that Peter denied his Master in word, but not in his heart, and that he never lost or abandoned the faith which he had professed near Caesarea Philippi. This view is universally accepted and it is borne out by St. Peter's repentance immediately after the denial. Thus all we can say is that, at the moment of his denying Christ, Peter was influenced by human respect and did not display the same courage and decision in proclaiming his faith, as he displayed both before and

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[1] *Non dubium quin ad futuram Petri negationem Christus alludat, sed . . . longius etiam respexit non solum ad eas tentationes, quas Petrus ceterique omnes apostoli ipsi per se viventes, sed ad eas etiam, quas eorum successores, id est ecclesia, unquam subituri essent.*

[2] Ven. Bede, Expositio *ad loc.: Cum vero pro Petro rogans Salvator, non ut non tentetur, sed ut non deficiat fides ejus obsecrat, hoc est, ut post lapsum negationis ad statum pristinum poenitendo resurgat, insinuat, utile sanctis esse, tentationum flammis examinari.*

[3] Apologie des Christentums, 3, 360.

[4] Compare Matthew xxvi. 69, 71, 73; Mark xiv. 67, 69, 70; Luke xxii. 56, 58, 59; John xviii. 17, 25, 26, and also Luke xxii. 34.

after his fall. There is nothing in the Biblical accounts to suggest that he ever fell away from the faith, or lost even for a moment his firm hold upon it. When our Lord appointed Simon Peter to be the supreme teacher of faith in His Church, He foretold the weakness to which he would momentarily yield; this was done to impress upon the prince of the apostles the truth that, just as he had through divine revelation received the faith which caused him to be appointed the foundation of the Church, so did he owe to Christ's intercession, and not to his own natural power, the firmness and decision that enabled him to maintain unity of faith in that Church. Some commentators avoid the difficulty arising from St. Peter's fall by assuming that Christ's intercession affected only the period subsequent to it. In this sense Laurent writes: "The difficulty vanishes when we rightly understand Christ's promises to Peter as concerning only the future Vicar of Christ and teacher of faith, and consequently as not taking effect until after our Lord's departure from the midst of His apostles. This explanation was given by Christ Himself, for in the course of conversation He alluded to Peter's denial, and did not allow His prayer for the apostle's perseverance in the faith to avail until after that denial had been uttered."[1]

In His thanksgiving immediately before the raising of Lazarus, Christ declared solemnly: "Father, I give Thee thanks that thou hast heard me, and I knew that thou hearest me always."[2] He knew therefore that His prayer for Simon Peter had also been heard, and so He added at once the command — "and thou, being converted, confirm thy brethren." This command could be obeyed by Peter only if he maintained and taught in all purity and completeness, by the aid of divine grace obtained for him by Christ's prayer, the faith revealed to him. As the context shows that the prayer for Peter was really heard, St. Augustine says that it is useless to doubt that our Lord asked and obtained for His apostles *in fide liberrimam, fortissimam, invictissimam, perseverantissimam voluntatem*.[3] After these general remarks on the formal connection between our Lord's charge to Peter and His prayer for him, we must proceed to examine the details of the charge more closely.

The participle ἐπιστρέψας (*conversus*) is interpreted in two ways: some adhere strictly to the participial idea, and see in the word an allusion to Peter's return after his fall; others regard the word as a Hebraism, and render it adverbially, "in thy turn." The exegetical reasons for adopting the latter view deserve consideration. From Maldonatus down to the present time those commentators who take *conversus* adverbially appeal to Ven. Bede in support of their rendering. Bede, however, sees in our Lord's prayer for Peter an allusion to his fall, as the passage already quoted shows;

[1] Das heilige Evangelium, 480. [2] John xi. 41, 42.
[3] De corrept. et gratia, 18, 7.

and it is plain from his paraphrase of Christ's charge to Simon Peter that he regards it, too, as announcing the apostle's repentance, and consequently *conversus* is not interpreted adverbially. Bede's paraphrase runs thus: *sicut ipse tuam (inquit) fidem, ne, satana tentante, deficiat, orando protexi, ita et tu infirmiores quosque fratres exemplo tuae poenitentiae, ne de venia forte desperent, erigere et confortare memento.* St. Ambrose, who wrote still earlier, took *conversus* to refer to the tears shed by Peter after his denial.[1]

The Greek writer Theophylact, Epitomist of St. John Chrysostom, writes on *conversus* the note: *postquam negato me fleveris et ad poenitentiam veneris,* and further on in his exhaustive commentary he says: *conversus hoc est, poenitentiam agens et lacrimas profundens et a negatione resiliens.* In his Catena Aurea St. Thomas Aquinas refers exclusively to commentators who take *conversus* to mean moral conversion, viz., Theophylact, Cyril and Bede. The quotation from St. Cyril is: *admirare igitur exuberantiam divinae patientiae: ne diffidere discipulum faceret, nondum patrato crimine largitus est veniam ac iterum ipsum in apostolico gradu restituit dicens: confirma fratres tuos.* The erroneous view that Peter lost his rank as apostle, but subsequently recovered it, will be discussed in the section dealing with his reception of the chief pastoral office in the Church. Lyranus remarks on this passage: *conversus, sc. de peccato ad gratiam.* Maldonatus regards the expression as a Hebraism, to be rendered *rursus* or *iterum,* but adds: *mihi non displicet interpretatio Ambrosii.* Tirinus says simply: *conversus a scelere tuo.* Cornelius à Lapide first gives the explanation *conversus a cribratione satanae et a peccato,* and then adds: *nonnulli accipiunt pro "iterum,"* and mentions Bede as an authority for this interpretation. Lamy and Calmet take *conversus* to mean a return to Christ after the fall, but they say that it is occasionally taken adverbially, in the sense of *iterum.* Jansenius jun. paraphrases: *conversus a peccato negationis,* and adds: *quamquam alius percommodus possit esse sensus,* viz., do thou in thy turn confirm thy brethren.

Among more recent commentators who have discussed this passage, Reischl gives no other interpretation than "converted," "returned." Bisping thinks that the adverbial rendering is contrary to New Testament usage. Bishop Laurent[2] too is emphatically opposed to it and says: "It is undeniable that our Lord's words 'and thou being once converted' have been regarded by many as a mere Hebraism, equivalent to 'in thy turn,' without any allusion to conversion. . . . But we must notice that nowhere in St. Luke's gospel nor in the Acts of the Apostles has the word, that occurs here in the Greek and Latin texts, an adverbial sense, nor can it be understood as 'in thy turn,' and consequently it should not be rendered so here." Knabenbauer[3] too thinks that it cannot be taken adverbially. Hugo Grotius, however, is of the opinion: *plerique "conversus" interpretantur poenitentia ductus. Ceterum mihi id probari non potest; nam ex verbis praecedentibus periculum intelligi poterat, non lapsus. Quare alios sequi malo qui Hebraismum putant esse.* In support of this view he quotes Ps. lxxxiv. 7: *Deus, tu conversus vivificabis nos,* and proceeds to paraphrase

[1] In Ps. xliii. Ambrosius: *Denique flevit et paleas suas lavit et in illis tentationibus meruit, ut pro se Christus interveniret. Quanto majus est patrocinium, quam perturbationis illius tentamentum.*

[2] Das heilige Evangelium, 1878, p. 490.

[3] Comm. in Lucam: *at negandum esse hic cerni posse illum quem volunt hebraismum.*

the passage as follows: *tu quoque olim vicissim fratres confirma*, i.e., *da operam, ne in fide deficiant, nempe pro ipsis orans, sicut ego pro te oro.* But in the verse quoted from the Old Testament, the reference is to the repetition of the same action by the same agent (*Deus*); in the present case not only the agents, but also their actions are different. Grotius seems to have noticed this himself, and, in order to secure similarity of action in the two clauses, he explains the charge *confirma fratres* thus: *Ora pro ipsis sicut ego pro te oro.* In this way he apparently convinced himself that *conversus* might be taken adverbially, although by this interpretation he made an essential modification in the lofty duty assigned to St. Peter. We may sum up the various arguments regarding this passage and state as the result: the theory that *conversus* is a Hebraism is, from the grammatical point of view, very doubtful, and therefore of little value; the great majority of commentators do not favor this interpretation.

Taking into account the facts already adduced, we cannot be surprised if it is chiefly from the context that some scholars try to derive a conclusive argument in support of the adverbial interpretation of the participle *conversus.* They maintain that our Lord's words contain no reference at all to St. Peter's denial and repentance, and therefore the adverbial interpretation of *conversus* is the only one admissible. Schrader writes: *Quodsi Christus significata morali Petri conversione moralem ejus aversionem ac lapsum adsignificasset, defectionis illius causam ex ductu sermonis nemo aliam posset habere, praeter indicatam prius satanae cribrationem. Atqui in cribratione hac, quae una eademque omnium esset apostolorum, unum Simonem voluit Dominus singulariter munitum; non potuit igitur idem Dominus ad illud casus specimen alludere, in quo unus Petrus singulariter invenitur infirmus. Ecquid impium istud absurdumque probares, cribrationem satanae potiorem Christi precibus validioremque fuisse? Satanicam ergo operam, cujus Dominus meminit, directam existimes oportet adversus futuram Petri ejusque apostolici principatus* οἰκονομίαν, *et ad eam referas pariter impositum Petri officium, quo* ἐπιστρέψας, *conversus fratres suos confirmet.*[1] In reply we may say:

(i) During the night of the Passion, Simon Peter was exposed to an extraordinary temptation, because he alone, in spite of his Master's warning, ran into exceptional danger, by entering the atrium of the high priest's house.

(ii) If in Christ's prayer for Peter we see a reference to his fall, it is still quite impossible to maintain that Satan's temptation proved mightier than our Lord's intercession. Such an argument would be correct only if Peter's momentary fall had been at the same time a lapse from the faith, because Christ had prayed that his faith might not fail. As early a writer as St. Ambrose perceived the fallacy of this argument, and in the passage already quoted asks emphatically: *Quanto majus est patrocinium (nempe Christi pro Petro intervenientis), quam perturbationis illius tentamentum?* When Christ prayed for the preservation of St. Peter's faith, He knew that, in accordance with God's wise permission, the apostle would fall for a moment, but, knowing that His prayer was heard, He also knew that Peter would rise again from his momentary fall, and would thenceforth remain firm and unshaken in his confession of the faith, and would also teach it, after having, as a result of His Master's intercession, preserved it intact amidst the greatest dangers.

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[1] *l. c.* 180.

(iii) Christ's intercession applied to the present time, but also in a peculiar way to the future, as the analysis of His remaining words will show.

Our Lord's charge to Peter was: "Confirm thy brethren." From the context we see that the word "brethren" applies primarily to the other apostles, for our Saviour had just been speaking of dangers to which all alike were exposed. At the same time, however, the word includes all the faithful, who, according to Biblical usage, are termed brethren because they are united by the bond of faith active in charity, so as to form one holy brotherhood. All these brethren, the apostles and the faithful in general, were entrusted by Christ to Simon Peter's care. He did not say in what respect Peter was to confirm his brethren, but it is quite clear from the context that it was in the faith. In the case of Peter Satan attacked his faith, first and foremost, and the same thing would occur in the case of the brethren also, since their faith was their most precious possession. Hence Maldonatus follows St. John Chrysostom in saying: *Diabolus fidem, caput Christiani hominis, et te ceterorum caput petet, ego te maxime fidemque tuam protegam.* Peter was to confirm his brethren in the true faith. The answer to the question why that task was entrusted especially to this apostle is suggested in the reply given to the other question, why did Christ pray for Peter, though announcing that all the apostles would be equally exposed to assaults from the devil. We may, however, go further, and assert: The verb στηρίζειν, from which the noun στήριγμα, support, foundation, is derived, shows us why Peter was selected to confirm his brethren; it was because our Lord had appointed him to be the foundation of the Church. Thus, to confirm the brethren in the faith is a duty which Peter has to perform, as being the foundation chosen by Christ for His Church. The close connection between confirming the brethren and Peter's primacy is stated by Theophylact in the following words: τοῦτο γὰρ (*scil.* τὸ στηρίζειν τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς) προ σήκει σοι ὡς μετ' ἐμὲ ὄντι τῆς ἐκκλησίας πέτρᾳ καὶ στηρίγματι, *hoc est: hoc enim* (*scil. confirmare fratres*) *te decet, qui post me ecclesiae petra es et fundamentum.* Theophylact speaks of confirming the brethren in the faith as a duty which Peter has to perform in his capacity as Vicar of Christ and Head of the Church.

How and when must Peter confirm the brethren in the faith? A consideration of the manner in which Satan, the sworn enemy of all truth, opposes revealed truth, will facilitate the answering of the first part of the question. Satan not only tries to weaken the faith of individuals, but also to lead individuals and entire nations into apostasy, to defile, distort, and completely misrepresent the deposit of revealed truth left with the Church. Consequently it is Peter's duty, in his capacity as head of the Church, to use the authority conferred upon him by his office, to warn men against apostasy, and to resist all perversion and distortion of the faith by proclaiming in a solemn and convincing manner what is truth and what is error. Thus he preserves revealed truth pure and intact, and upholds the unity of the Church that is based upon profession of the same faith. This is the task that Peter is required to perform for all his brethren, i.e., for all the faithful collectively, without any exception. When was this task, included in his primacy, imposed upon him? Our Saviour indicates the beginning of his office by the use of the adverb *aliquando*, which in this passage refers to the future. Its beginning coincides with the moment when Peter became the Vicar of Christ, was entrusted with the office of supreme shepherd set over the whole of Christ's flock, and was ordered to feed, rule, teach, and guide the faithful. St. John[1] tells us that this took place in Galilee, near the sea of Tiberias, not long before our Lord's ascension. Thenceforth Peter has had to exercise his office perpetually, since Satan's attempts to pervert the truth of the gospel never cease. This duty can be discharged only if Peter always preserves pure and inviolate the saving truths deposited in the Church, and, as head of the Church, proclaims them openly and solemnly, using his authority as Vicar of Christ. When our Lord said: "Confirm thy brethren," He appointed Peter supreme teacher of the universal Church, and laid upon him the obligation of using his teaching office for the good and protection of the Church. Did He equip His apostle with grace sufficient to discharge his exalted functions? No one can deny that He did so, without at the same time denying the whole of the New Testament scheme of salvation, a fundamental principle of which is that Christ supplies each member of His Messianic kingdom with the grace needful for the discharge of the duties laid upon him. St. Augustine states this truth very beautifully, when he says: *Prius lex jubebat, sed non juvabat; post Christi adventum et jubet et juvat.* This being the case we must adopt the following line of argument with reference to the subject that we have been considering: Simon Peter was appointed supreme teacher of faith to the universal Church of Christ, but he could fulfill the obligations thus laid upon him only by perpetually preserving revealed truth pure and intact. Consequently when he received the command "Confirm thy brethren," which imposed upon him the duty of exercising this supreme teaching office, he received at the same time the assurance that the grace necessary for the discharge of this duty would be forthcoming, so that the decisions on matters of faith, promulgated by him in his capacity as Vicar of Christ and chief shepherd of the Church, for the purpose of confirming his brethren in the faith and of averting error and heresy, are *infallible*.

Like the primacy, the chief pastoral office was not limited to Peter personally, but passed on to his successors, the bishops of Rome, to all of whom the command "Confirm thy brethren" is addressed. Therefore the conclusions, that we have drawn from the charge given in the first in-

[1] xxi. 15–17.

stance to Peter, are applicable to the Pope, the Bishop of Rome.[1] A discussion of the further dogmatic and historical grounds for this truth would carry us beyond the scope of the present work, and belong, strictly speaking, to the sphere of dogmatic theology.

VIII. Prediction of the Apostles being Scandalized, and of Peter's Denial

Matthew xxvi. 31–35

31. Then Jesus saith to them: All you shall be scandalized in me this night. For it is written: I will strike the shepherd, and the sheep of the flock shall be dispersed.

32. But after I shall be risen again, I will go before you into Galilee.

33. And Peter answering, said to him: Although all shall be scandalized in thee, I will never be scandalized.

34. Jesus said to him, Amen I say to thee, that in this night before the cock crow, thou wilt deny me thrice.

35. Peter saith to him: Yea, though I should die with thee, I will not deny thee. And in like manner said all the disciples.

Luke xxii. 33, 34

33. Who said to him: Lord, I am ready to go with thee both into prison and to death.

34. And he said: I say to thee, Peter, the cock shall not crow this day, till thou thrice deniest that thou knowest me.

Mark xiv. 27–31

27. And Jesus saith to them: You will all be scandalized in my regard this night: for it is written, I will strike the shepherd, and the sheep shall be dispersed.

28. But after I shall be risen again, I will go before you into Galilee.

29. But Peter saith to him: Although all shall be scandalized in thee, yet not I.

30. And Jesus saith to him: Amen I say to thee, to-day even in this night, before the cock crow twice, thou shalt deny me thrice.

31. But he spoke the more vehemently: Although I should die together with thee, I will not deny thee. And in like manner also said they all.

John xiii. 36–38

36. Simon Peter saith to him: Lord, whither goest thou? Jesus answered: Whither I go, thou canst not follow me now, but thou shalt follow hereafter.

37. Peter saith to him: Why cannot I follow thee now? I will lay down my life for thee.

38. Jesus answered him: Wilt thou lay down thy life for me? Amen, Amen, I say to thee, the cock shall not crow, till thou deny me thrice.

Chronological questions. These relate to the following points:

(i) Do the accounts given by the four evangelists refer to one

[1] Compare Conc. Vatic. sess. iv. Constit. dogm. I de eccl., cap. 3.

and the same scene, each recording some particular detail in it? or was Peter's denial predicted twice or even three times in succession?

(ii) If it was but once predicted, where did this occur? in the Cenaculum on Mount Sion, or on the way to Gethsemani? Commentators are divided in opinion on these points.

St. Augustine[1] thinks that our Lord uttered three predictions of St. Peter's denial, although he admits the possibility of their identity, and goes on to say *nisi magis moveret, quod tam diversa, non tantum verba sed etiam sententias Domini praemittunt, quibus permotu Petrus illam praesumtionem proferret, vel cum Domino vel pro Domino moriendi, ut magis cogant intelligi, ter cum expressisse praesumtionem suas diversis locis sermonis Christi et ter illi a Domino responsum, quod eum esset ante galli cantum ter negaturus.* According to St. Augustine the three predictions occurred successively, first the one recorded by St. John, then that recorded by St. Luke, and lastly that recorded by St. Matthew and St. Mark. The commentators who think that there were two predictions, are not agreed in their attempt of identifying the gospel narratives. Bynaeus[2] thinks that the synoptic evangelists all record the same occurrence, and that St. John speaks of something that took place on the occasion of a supper on the evening of the 13th–14th Nisan. Cornely[3] also thinks that there were two predictions of St. Peter's denial, but he differs from Bynaeus in regarding the accounts given by St. John and St. Luke as relating to the one, and those given by St. Matthew and St. Mark as relating to the other. These two scholars do not, moreover, agree as to the order of events. Langen places the first prediction immediately before the departure from the Supper Room, and the second later. Cornely places the first before the institution of the Holy Eucharist, and the second after the departure from the Supper Room. The great majority of commentators believe that there was only one prediction, because on all essential points, such as the form of words used by our Lord and St. Peter's reception of the prophecy, all the four accounts agree perfectly.

Where did Christ foretell the scandal of the apostles and His denial by Peter? Because St. Matthew and St. Mark record the occurrence immediately after speaking of Christ's leaving the Supper Room with His disciples, most exegetes assume that He uttered these words on the way to the Mount of Olives. St. Luke, who is the most accurate in his account of events, mentions the departure from the Supper Room later,[4] and a comparison of John xiii. 36–38 with John xviii. 1, seems to show that all this conversation must have taken place in the Cenaculum. Finally, the temporal particle τότε, with which St. Matthew introduces his account, need not necessarily refer to the verse immediately preceding, and consequently we may assume that in all probability the prediction of the scandal of the apostles, and of Peter's denial was uttered whilst our Lord was still in the Supper Room, just before He went out.[5]

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[1] De cons. evang. 3, 5, 6, 7. [2] II, 1, 3.
[3] Cursus script. sacr., libr. introd. III, 299. Knabenb.: *Petrum bis esse monitum, certe non est improbabile.*
[4] xxii. 39. [5] Tir.: *sub egressum, sed antequam excederent.*

Elucidation of the biblical accounts. In arranging the various points recorded by the four evangelists, it is best to follow Bynaeus,[1] with whom many recent writers agree.

The circumstances that led up to the prediction of the apostles' scandal and of Peter's denial were the following: Christ had finished the Paschal supper and had instituted the sacrifice of the New Testament, and then began to speak solemnly of the glorious effects of His death on the cross, to which He alluded as if it had already occurred. His exaltation to the right hand of the Father was approaching, and so He foretold His departure and spoke of the commandment of charity that He would leave to His disciples, calling it the characteristic of true discipleship. Peter, unwilling to accept the news of their coming separation from their Master, and loath to leave Him, said: "Lord, whither goest thou?" whereupon our Saviour answered indirectly: "Whither I go, thou canst not follow me now, but thou shalt follow hereafter." Jesus was going to die, and Peter could not follow Him, partly because he was not yet fully prepared to face the horrors of death, and partly because he had to act as chief shepherd of the flock after his Master's departure. But in prophetic language our Lord foretold that at a later date Peter too would tread the path of suffering: "thou shalt follow hereafter." The ardent apostle declared that he was ready then to die: "Why cannot I follow thee now? I will lay down my life for thee." Christ expressed His doubt on the subject regarding which Peter spoke so confidently, and said: "Wilt thou lay down thy life for me? Amen, amen, I say to thee, the cock shall not crow till thou deny me thrice."

At this point, interrupting His conversation with Peter, and turning to all the apostles, our Lord foretold that during that very night they all would be scandalized in Him.

This prediction is recorded only by St. Matthew and St. Mark. It is not difficult to discover the reason why they were scandalized or "shocked"; possibly our Lord's agony in Gethsemani was shocking to them, and certainly they were shocked at His arrest, and at all the subsequent events of the night. But it is more difficult to see how they were scandalized. Some commentators think that they did not lose their faith, or even waver in

[1] II, 1, 3.

it, but that they simply took flight in fear.[1] But the apostles' behavior when the first tidings of the resurrection reached them shows that this explanation, which has only an external motive, is insufficient. Their scandal consisted probably in the fact that they thought themselves disappointed in all their expectations, because their ideas of the Messiah were still not perfectly free from base delusions, and consequently the events of the night gave a violent shock to their devotion and love toward their Master, and this attitude of mind manifested itself in their taking flight.

The definite prediction of their being scandalized served to make them recognize the omniscience of their Lord, though He was betrayed and bound, and this made it easier for them to recover from their momentary loss of confidence in Him. With this end in view Jesus pointed out that both their dispersion and their eventual re-assembly had been foretold by the prophets. The words: "I will strike the shepherd, and the sheep of the flock shall be dispersed" are a free, not a literal, quotation from Zacharias.[2] Both an immediate and a Messianic interpretation was assigned to them, and they were fulfilled when Jesus, the Good Shepherd, was taken prisoner and His apostles scattered. But Zacharias went on to foretell the re-assembling of the scattered flock, for the next words to those quoted are "I will turn my hand to the little ones," and in the same way Jesus held out to His followers the joyful prospect of gathering again around Him, for He said: "After I shall be risen again, I will go before you into Galilee." It must not be inferred from the allusion to Galilee and from the fact that St. Matthew records only the one appearance of our risen Lord to His apostles which took place in Galilee, that He had not previously appeared to them in Jerusalem. Some commentators see a reference to other previous appearances in the verb "go before." Our Lord spoke of fulfilling His promise in Galilee because the apostles were natives of that province and had there been called to follow Jesus. He did not merely appear to them there after the resurrection, but remained for some time in familiar intercourse with them, en-

[1] Mald.: *non fidem perdituros, nec in fide vacillaturos aut negaturos Christum, sed deserturos.* Menochius makes the same remark; similarly Lyranus at an earlier date.

[2] xiii. 7.

dowed them all with apostolic powers, and appointed Peter to be their chief and the supreme head of the Church.

Various explanations have been given of Peter's words: "Although all shall be scandalized in thee, I will never be scandalized." Some commentators[1] adopt St. John Chrysostom's view, and say that Peter here committed three faults: he failed to respect Christ's definite assertion, he exalted himself above his fellow apostles, and in rash self-confidence laid claim to a firmness that was beyond his reach without the help of God's grace. This view is objectively quite correct, but from the subjective standpoint we must notice that the words were uttered by the impetuous apostle at a moment of intense excitement, due to our Lord's prediction. Hence St. Jerome[2] remarks: *non est temeritas nec mendacium, sed fides apostoli Petri et ardens affectus erga Dominum.* Peter's fall should certainly be a warning to every servant of God to pray with fear and humility for grace to stand firm amidst all dangers and temptations.

Peter's behavior caused our Lord to predict a grievous fall on the part of this very apostle. He began with the solemn and emphatic words "Amen I say to thee," and the prediction is definite and detailed; Jesus foretold the manner, time, and hour of his fall, and even the number of his denials. St. John's account is the least precise, for he speaks only of a threefold denial before cockcrow. St. Luke indicates the time more clearly, since he says that the denial will take place this day; St. Mark is still more exact, "today, even in this night," and "before the cock crow twice"; all the other evangelists say simply before cockcrow. The four evangelists all record our Lord's prediction of Peter's threefold denial, but only St. Luke says that the denial would take the form of denying all knowledge of Christ. St. Luke is also the only evangelist who tells us that Peter protested his readiness to go to prison with Jesus. This analysis of the text in the four gospels shows that in spite of differences in detail, there is complete agreement in essentials.

St. Mark says that Peter will deny his Master thrice before the cock crows twice; the other evangelists say before cockcrow. Some commentators lay great stress upon this difference, but there is no difficulty in accounting for it. The crowing men-

[1] e.g., Menochius.

[2] ad Matth. xxvi. 33.

tioned by Matthew, Luke, and John is not to be understood as the action of any one cock, but cockcrow, or *gallicinium,* denoted a particular part of the night. Thus all that is meant is that the denial would take place before the hour known by this name.

Ancient writers are not agreed as to the beginning and end of the *gallicinium,* but St. Mark, the evangelist who speaks of a cock crowing twice, throws light on the subject, for he divides the whole night into four parts, viz., evening, midnight, cockcrow, and morning.[1] This is a division that obviously corresponds with the four watches of the night, so that cockcrow coincided with the third watch, and lasted from midnight until 3 A.M. Now Samuel Bochartus, to whom we shall refer again in the section dealing with St. Peter's denial, says that a cock crows first *media nocte,* then *medio spatio inter mediam noctem et auroram,* and this second crowing is called by many the *secundus cantus.* The second crowing at the close of the period termed *gallicinium* seems to be that of which St. Mark speaks. Many other commentators, however, place the *gallicinium* at the beginning of the fourth watch. In opposition to the theory stated above it is urged that nowhere else is cockcrow used to designate any precise hour. It should, however, be noticed that St. Mark, in whose case the difficulty arises, shows plainly what part of the night was known as cockcrow. The cock came originally from India, but was domesticated in Babylonia at a very early date. The Jews for a long time regarded the bird with a kind of abhorrence, because the Babylonians considered it sacred, but ever since the return of the Jews from captivity they seem to have kept poultry. In the fourth book of Esdras[2] the relation in which Jehovah stood to the people of Israel is described as that of a hen gathering her chickens under her wings, and Christ used the same comparison to express His loving care for the inhabitants of Jerusalem.[3] We learn from the New Testament[4] that in the time of Christ the Jews used eggs as articles of diet. The rabbinical statements on this subject will be discussed in the section dealing with Peter's denial.

Simon Peter did not take the warning, so plainly given, to heart, but protested his willingness to die for his Master. The other apostles followed his example and made similar protestations, in order not to seem to have less love of Jesus and less readiness to suffer for Him. The Venerable Bede[5] remarks: *Valida est ut mors dilectio. Per amorem mentis non timuerunt damnum mortis, sed vana fuit praesumtio humana sine protectione divina, juxta illud psalmographi: nisi Dominus custodierit civitatem, frustra vigilat, qui custodit eam.*[6]

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[1] xiii. 35.
[2] i. 30.
[3] Matthew xxiii. 37.
[4] Luke xi. 12.
[5] Comm. in Matth.
[6] Ps. cxxvi. 1.

IX. The Struggle Destined for the Apostles

Luke xxii. 35–38.

35. When I sent you without purse and scrip and shoes, did you want anything?

36. But they said: Nothing. Then said he unto them: But now he that hath a purse, let him take it, and likewise a scrip: and he that hath not, let him sell his coat, and buy a sword.

37. For I say to you, that this that is written, must yet be fulfilled in me, And with the wicked was he reckoned. For the things concerning me have an end.

38. But they said: Lord, behold here are two swords. And he said to them: It is enough.

Our Saviour had previously sent out the apostles to preach the gospel in Israel, to use the miraculous powers bestowed upon them, and under their Master's direction to prepare themselves for their future work. When instructing them before their departure, He impressed upon them that as poor servants of a poor Master they were to feel no anxiety about their means of support, but were to leave everything to God, in whose service they were employed. He said to them: "Do not possess gold, nor silver, nor money in your purses, nor scrip for your journey, nor two coats, nor shoes nor a staff; for the workman is worthy of his meat."[1] Our Saviour now refers to this former mission, and we learn from the apostles' words that they had faithfully obeyed His orders, and had set out on their journey without money, food, or a change of clothing, and yet, by their own testimony, had suffered no hardships while carrying out their Master's instructions.

The apostles were called with a view to their future work. As long as Jesus was with them on earth they were being prepared for their real missionary task, that began only after His return to heaven. On the former occasion He had warned them of the perils awaiting them,[2] and now, His own departure being imminent, He told them in brief but touching words how great the dangers were that they would have to encounter. He said that circumstances had changed, and not only must the apostles carry with them money and food, but even a sword was so necessary that they must sell their outer garment in order to buy one. Commentators differ in their explanation of this state-

[1] Matthew x. 9, 10.

[2] Matthew x. 16–39.

ment. Many of them do not take the words "purse," "scrip," and "sword" literally, nor do they see any command in the words addressed to the apostles, but think that these words indicate vividly and in prophetic form the privations and perils that they would suffer in the future.[1]

The word "sword" certainly must not be understood as denoting a real, material weapon; this is plain for several reasons:

(i) Our Lord said to Simon Peter: "Put up again thy sword into its place, for all that take the sword shall perish with the sword."[2]

(ii) Jesus offered no resistance when He was arrested, bound, and crucified.

(iii) In their writings the apostles speak of an exclusively spiritual equipment for the soldiers of Christ,[3] and especially of a sword which is the word of God.[4]

(iv) The apostles underwent persecution and laid down their lives for the gospel, but never had recourse to the sword against their opponents.

In our opinion these words of Christ are not to be taken literally, and yet they are not merely a prediction of impending dangers, for they contain a command as to the apostles' behavior in time of peril. If this be correct, the meaning of the passage is this: Jesus predicts the dangers; He calls upon the apostles to be ready to suffer hardships, to practise self-renunciation, and to resist their enemies with all the spiritual weapons at their disposal. The argument that the apostles would not have understood our Lord if He had intended to convey these ideas to them is untenable; in the first place our Saviour Himself, as we shall see in discussing the next verse, hinted that only in time to come would they fully grasp His meaning, and, secondly, the apostles showed in word and deed that, as time went on, the true meaning of His utterance was revealed to them.

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[1] Cornelius à Lap.: *Verba Christi non sunt imperantis . . . sed praenuntiantis instantem sibi et apostolis persecutionem acerrimam, quae tanta erit, ut cibus et gladius ad tutelam vitae ipsorum comparanda esse videantur homini rem reique difficultatem humana prudentia aestimanti.* Menochius concludes his discussion of the passage with the remark: *Itaque (Christus) per sacculum, peram et gladium nihil aliud significat, quam iniquam temporum conditionem.* The same view is taken by Calmet and others.

[2] Matthew xxvi. 52.

[3] Ephes. vi. 16, 17.

[4] Hebr. iv. 12.

When He first sent forth the apostles, our Saviour had warned them that, as His disciples, they could expect no other lot than that assigned to Him, their Master.[1] Now He tells them of the fate awaiting Him, and explains why He has laid upon them the command that we have just been considering. The time has come for the Messianic prophecy to be fulfilled: "And with the wicked was he reckoned," [2] i.e., He was looked upon and treated as a malefactor. This prophecy was fulfilled when Jesus died a shameful death on the cross, between two thieves. Sorrowful times then began for the disciples, for not only was their loving Master no longer with them, but, as St. Bede says in the passage quoted above, they now encountered the scorn and hatred that had been heaped upon the Messiah. The history of the apostolic age bears witness to this fact, and St. Peter, the chief of the apostles, says plainly that Christians suffered persecution simply because they were followers of Christ.[3] By way of explanation our Lord added that the prophecy of Isaias must now be fulfilled because the time had come for the fulfillment of all the prophecies relating to the Messiah, and, consequently, to the end of His work on earth.

The apostles did not then understand our Lord's meaning, but thought of an actual sword, that they would at once have to use. So they said: "Lord, behold here are two swords." Although the Greek μάχαιρα means dagger as well as sword, commentators with hardly an exception accept the latter rendering. The presence of the weapons is accounted for in two ways: either they were accidentally left in the Supper Room, or the disciples had carried them thither. The latter is more probable, because Simon Peter, after leaving the Supper Room, was still in possession of a sword. St. John Chrysostom thinks that the two "swords" were two knives, one of which had been used to kill the Paschal lamb, and the other to cut up its flesh. Our Lord's words, "It is enough," probably mean nothing more than that He intended to avoid further discussion of this subject. Theophylact paraphrases thus: *bene, dimitte,* as breaking off the conversation and continues: *facit autem hoc Dominus, quando videt, discipulos non intelligere dictum; transit et eventui rerum permittit explicare dictorum intelligentiam.*[4] To regard the

[1] Matthew x. 24, 25.
[2] Isa. liii. 12.
[3] 1 Peter iv. 14 *seqq.*
[4] Comm. *ad loc.*

expression as ironical seems quite out of keeping with the seriousness of the occasion, and it is extremely doubtful whether Jesus ever spoke ironically. There is another mystical and allegorical interpretation of the two swords in the apostles' possession, according to which they represented the spiritual and secular power, one being used by the ecclesiastical authorities, the other by the State in defence of the Church.[1]

[1] So Benedict, viii.; compare Hefele, Konziliengeschichte, vi. 346 *seqq.*

SECTION III

CHRIST IN GETHSEMANI

This section contains the account of what occurred in Gethsemani, the garden at the foot of the Mount of Olives, during the hours of the night between Holy Thursday and Good Friday. It deals with two principal topics: (1) Our Lord's agony, and (2) His arrest.

The synoptic writers all allude to both subjects; St. John is silent regarding the former, but records the latter. Apart from some very small differences, the accounts given by Matthew and Mark of our Lord's agony are in complete agreement. Luke's version is shorter and displays the following divergences in matters of detail: (1) He says nothing of the hymn sung before leaving the Cenaculum; (2) he does not call the garden Gethsemani, but speaks simply of the Mount of Olives as the scene of the agony, adding, however, the remark that Jesus went thither "according to His custom"; (3) he does not say that the three disciples who had previously witnessed our Lord's transfiguration were now also chosen to witness His agony, but he states somewhat precisely how far our Lord went in front of His disciples before He began His prayer; (4) he condenses the report given by the other evangelists of Christ's going three times to pray; but (5) he adds two important points by recording the apparition of an angel strengthening Jesus, and the bloody sweat.

All four evangelists record the arrest of our Lord; St. Matthew's account is most detailed, and St. Mark's holds very closely to it. Both state that Judas had agreed with the soldiers to point out Jesus to them by means of a kiss, and both also record the flight of all the disciples. The rebuke to Simon Peter is not mentioned by St. Mark. St. Luke's account is more general, although he gives some details that serve to complete the narrative of the other evangelists. Such are: the fact that Peter cut off the right ear of the high priest's servant; that Jesus

addressed His remonstrance to "the chief priests and magistrates of the temple and the ancients," and, lastly, that Jesus declared His enemies to be acting in the service of the powers of darkness.

St. John tells us, what is only suggested by St. Matthew and St. Mark, that the band which went out to arrest Jesus consisted of a cohort of Roman soldiers under the command of a tribune, as well as of a number of Jews. We also learn from him that, besides swords and staves, torches were carried by the men; that they were forced to admit that they were seeking Jesus of Nazareth, and when our Lord said: "I am he," they went backward and fell to the ground. Finally St. John alone has preserved the name of the servant whose ear Peter cut off.

St. Mark alone speaks of a young man who followed Jesus for a time after the flight of the disciples, but when men attempted to seize him he fled, leaving his sole garment in their hands.

I. Christ's Agony in the Garden of Gethsemani

Matthew xxvi. 30, 36–40

30. And a hymn being said, they went out unto Mount Olivet.

36. Then Jesus came with them into a country place which is called Gethsemani, and he said to his disciples: Sit you here, till I go yonder and pray.

37. And taking with him Peter and the two sons of Zebedee, he began to grow sorrowful and to be sad.

38. Then he saith to them: My soul is sorrowful even unto death; stay you here and watch with me.

39. And going a little further he fell upon his face, praying, and saying: My Father, if it be possible let this chalice pass from me. Nevertheless not as I will, but as thou wilt.

40. And he cometh to his disciples, and findeth them asleep, and he saith to Peter: What? Could you not watch one hour with me?

Luke xxii. 39–45

39. And going out he went according to his custom to the mount of Olives. And his disciples also followed him.

40. And when he was come to the place, he said to them: Pray, lest you enter into temptation.

41. And he was withdrawn away from them a stone's cast, and kneeling down he prayed,

42. Saying: Father, if thou wilt, remove this chalice from me; but yet not my will, but thine be done.

43. And there appeared to him an Angel from heaven, strengthening him. And being in an agony, he prayed the longer.

44. And his sweat became as drops of blood trickling down upon the ground.

45. And when he rose up from prayer, and was come to his disciples, he found them sleeping for sorrow.

MATTHEW xxvi. 41–46

41. Watch ye, and pray that ye enter not into temptation. The spirit indeed is willing but the flesh is weak.

42. Again the second time, he went and prayed, saying: My Father, if this chalice may not pass away, but I must drink it, thy will be done.

43. And he cometh again, and findeth them sleeping; for their eyes were heavy.

44. And leaving them he went again; and he prayed the third time saying the self same word.

45. Then he cometh to his disciples, and saith to them: Sleep ye now and take your rest; behold the hour is at hand, and the son of man shall be betrayed into the hands of sinners.

46. Rise, let us go; behold he is at hand that will betray me.

LUKE xxii. 46

46. And he saith to them: Why sleep you? arise, pray lest you enter into temptation.

JOHN xviii. 1

1. When Jesus had said these things, he went forth with his disciples over the brook Cedron, where there was a garden, into which he entered with his disciples.

MARK xiv. 26, 32–42

26. And when they had said an hymn, they went forth to the mount of Olives.

32. And they come to a farm called Gethsemani. And he saith to his disciples: Sit you here, while I pray.

33. And he taketh Peter and James and John with him; and he began to fear and to be heavy.

34. And he saith to them: My soul is sorrowful even unto death; stay you here and watch.

35. And when he was gone forward a little, he fell flat on the ground; and he prayed that if it might be, the hour might pass from him.

36. And he saith: Abba, Father, all things are possible to thee, remove this chalice from me, but not what I will, but what thou wilt.

37. And he cometh, and findeth them sleeping. And he saith to Peter: Simon, sleepest thou? couldst thou not watch one hour?

38. Watch ye, and pray that ye enter not into temptation. The spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak.

39. And going away again, he prayed, saying the same words.

40. And when he returned he found them again asleep (for their eyes were heavy) and they knew not what to answer him.

41. And he cometh the third time, and saith to them: Sleep ye now and take your rest. It is enough; the hour is come; behold the son of man shall be betrayed into the hands of sinners.

42. Rise up, let us go. Behold he that will betray me is at hand.

The walk to the Mount of Olives. According to Maimonides[1] the Paschal supper might not be prolonged beyond the midnight,

[1] Pesach. x. 9.

so probably our Lord walked to Gethsemani towards twelve o'clock in the night between Holy Thursday and Good Friday. To walk from the Supper Room, on the southwest corner of Mount Sion, to the Mount of Olives, five or six furlongs distant from Jerusalem, would take less than half an hour. According to St. Matthew and St. Mark, Jesus and His apostles went out after they had said a hymn. The phrase is so worded as to imply that Jesus joined in the song of praise, and this information proves that our Saviour Himself authorized the inclusion of songs of praise in the liturgy. St. Paul [1] and not long afterwards the younger Pliny [2] bear witness to the existence of specially Christian hymns, by which the faithful sang the praises of God, but for a considerable time only Psalms and Canticles from the New Testament were admitted to the liturgy. As late as the year 633 the fourth synod of Toledo declared that it was not right to reject all the hymns composed by Hilary and Ambrose, and to allow only those taken from the Bible to be used in the services of the Church.[3]

Many commentators think that it was on the way to the Mount of Olives that our Lord foretold the scandal of the apostles and St. Peter's denial. As has been already shown, however, it is more probable that this took place in the Supper Room, and the same remark applies also to our Saviour's farewell discourse and prayer, recorded by St. John.[4]

Because our Lord walked to the Mount of Olives immediately after supper, some commentators think that He cannot have kept the Pasch on the proper day, like all the other Jews, since in that case He would have had to remain indoors until the morning. This theory has been discussed and proved untenable in the section in which we considered the day of the Last Supper.

The Mount of Olives is situated to the east of the city of Jerusalem, and, in order to reach it, the brook Cedron had to be crossed. The name Cedron means the black stream, because the water was muddy and dirty; St. John uses a word that means "the winter stream," for as a rule there was water in the river-bed only in winter. The Cedron rises a short distance to the northwest of Jerusalem, near the tombs of the Judges, flows past the city, and after a course of about twenty-five miles falls into the Dead Sea, through a very narrow ravine, called by Christians Mary's valley, Wadi Sitti Marjam. Jesus crossed the brook

[1] Ephes. v. 19; Col. iii. 16.
[2] x. ep. 97.
[3] Hefele, Konziliengesch. 3, 81.
[4] John xv. 1–xvii. 26.

by the bridge near St. Stephen's Gate, and a few steps farther on turned into the garden of an estate known as Gethsemani.

Ingenious attempts have been made to show that the evangelists contradicted one another as to our Lord's destination; some critics say that the synoptic writers speak of Christ as going to the top of the Mount of Olives, whereas St. John represents Him as stopping in Gethsemani, at the foot of the hill. We may notice that the preposition εἰς, used in the synoptic gospels, frequently indicates direction toward, rather than the actual destination; and the context proves that it bears this meaning here, for the evangelists begin by stating in a general way that Jesus went to (toward) the Mount of Olives, and immediately afterwards they speak of His halting in Gethsemani.[1] We are probably justified in assuming from St. Luke's account that Jesus had spent the preceding nights in Gethsemani.[2] St. Jerome tells us[3] that a church of considerable size once stood on the spot sanctified by our Saviour's agony, and thus rendered forever sacred to every Christian. The present garden of Gethsemani is on the way to the Mount of Olives; it is surrounded by a wall, on the inner side of which are the Stations of the Cross, and contains seven or eight very large olive trees, which according to tradition date back to the time of Christ. Somewhat to the north of the garden is the Grotto of the Agony, a cavern about 55 feet in length, 30 feet in breadth, and 14 feet in height, containing three altars.[4] It was here that our Saviour endured the agony of which the synoptic evangelists speak.

On entering the garden Jesus left eight of the apostles behind, and went forward with Peter, James, and John, the three who had on other occasions been especially privileged. They had witnessed His transfiguration,[5] and were now to witness also His deepest abasement. As He walked with them through the garden our Lord was overpowered with such great distress of mind and trembling of body that the evangelists speak of Him as beginning to grow sorrowful and sad, and even to fear and be heavy.[6] St. Jerome[7] sees in the words "He began" evidence that Jesus freely accepted all the painful accompaniments of sorrow and horror. St. Bede expresses a similar opinion.[8] As soon as they reached the spot where the three disciples were to remain Jesus gave utterance to His mental anguish in the words, "My soul is sorrowful even unto death"; i.e. my

[1] Compare Matthew xxvi. 30 with xxvi. 36.
[2] xxii. 39.
[3] De loc. hebr.
[4] Kirchenlexikon, 5, 559.
[5] Compare Matthew xvii. 1.
[6] Compare Mark xiv. 33.
[7] ad Matth. xxvi. 37.
[8] *ad loc.: tristari coepit, ut veritatem adsumpti probaret hominis, vereque contristatus sit: sed ne passio in animo illius dominaretur, per passionem coepit contristari. Aliud est enim contristari et aliud incipere contristari.*

distress is as intense as it can possibly be at the hour of my death; it is so great and overpowering that my heart seems ready to break.

The following reasons may be given for our Lord's anguish:

(1) He foresaw the cruel treatment awaiting Him, and His painful and shameful death upon the cross, and felt the natural shrinking from death: *Anima naturaliter vult uniri corpori, et illud fuit in anima Christi, quia comedit et bibit et esuriit. Ergo separatio erat naturale desiderium; ergo separari ei triste* (St. Thomas Aquinas).

(2) He felt the overwhelming burden of the sins of the human race, and knew that He had to bear it and expiate all sins.

(3) He perceived the treachery of Judas, the flight of the apostles, the obduracy of the Jewish nation, and the sad destruction of the holy city. The earlier commentators lay peculiar stress upon the last point; St. Jerome writes: *contristabatur autem non timore patiendi, quia ad hoc venerat, ut pateretur, sed propter infelicissimum Judam et scandalum omnium et apostolorum et rejectionem Judaeorum, et eversionem miserae Jerusalem.*[1] The cry of pain that broke from our Lord's lips was not a complaint, but expressed the love that impelled Him to endure such anguish for the salvation of men. It reveals to us the value of a human soul for which Jesus bore such suffering, and it reminds His representatives on earth that they must shrink from no pain of mind or body in laboring for the salvation of souls.

In order to be alone with His grief and to pour out His heart in prayer to God without interruption, Jesus parted from the three apostles, but did not go far from them, only about a stone's cast, as St. Luke says, for He wished them to witness His struggle and prayer in order that they might testify to the world what He had suffered for men. The spot where He left the apostles is still pointed out; it is near the entrance to the present garden of Gethsemani, and about 75 yards from the Grotto of the Agony.[2]

The three stages in Christ's agony in Gethsemani. The three stages and the prayer uttered during each are recorded in detail by Matthew and Mark. St. Luke condenses his account, but is the only evangelist who mentions two points, viz., the apparition of an angel, and our Lord's bloody sweat. On the occasion of His first prayer Christ revealed the intensity of His suffering in His outward action and in the words of His prayer. He fell upon His knees, and even cast Himself full length upon the ground. According to a pious tradition mentioned by the Venerable Bede,[3] our Saviour's knees left their impress upon the

[1] Comm. *ad loc.* St. Bede uses almost the same words.
[2] Kirchenlexikon, v. 560.
[3] De locis sanctis, c. 6.

stone where He knelt, and this stone was afterwards built into the inner wall of the church so as to be plainly visible. By thus casting Himself down on the earth Jesus expressed His profound abasement, and humble submission to His heavenly Father's will: *ruit in faciem, ut humilitatem mentis habitu carnis ostendat.*[1] His agony revealed itself also in the prayer, "My Father, if it be possible, let this chalice pass from me." Jesus prayed thus in accordance with His human will, which was, however, completely subordinate to His divine will, for He added: "Nevertheless not as I [with my human will] desire, but as Thou [with Thy divine will] ordainest, so may it come to pass."

There is some difficulty in the interpretation of Christ's words. We must notice in the first place that He spoke not of the possibility of God's taking away the chalice of suffering, but of its removal with reference to the divine scheme of salvation. This scheme required Christ to complete the work of redemption by draining this chalice. He knew God's design, which had been proclaimed by the prophets, and, as we shall see later, the knowledge plunged Him into agony; why, then, and in what sense did He say, "Father, if it be possible, let this chalice pass from me?" The answer is: Jesus had no wish to alter God's ordinance, nor did He hope to be able to modify it by His prayer, but His utterance, accompanied as it was by tears,[2] was the natural expression of a soul tortured by fear of death; it was an appeal for help from above, and for consolation in suffering and desolation; it was, in short, most convincing proof of the reality of Christ's sorrows. *Non est haec duplex oratio, nec una corrigit alteram . . . sed una plena et deliberata oratio cujus prima pars exprimit horrorem passionis et desiderii naturae . . . altera pars subjicit rem totam divinae voluntati.*[3] We cannot accept the interpretation that Christ prayed thus because His human knowledge was uncertain whether His previous sufferings might not suffice to satisfy divine justice and expiate the sins of the whole world. This view is disproved by the fact that Christ, both before and after His Passion, declared most definitely that His death and resurrection were included in God's design and must therefore inevitably occur.[4] St. Bede thinks that the word "chalice" referred especially to the sufferings inflicted by the Jews upon our Lord, and sees in the petition an expression of sorrow for that unhappy nation: *postulat, ut, si possibile sit, transeat ab eo calix non timore patiendi sed misericordia prioris populi, nec ab illis bibat calicem propinatum. Unde signanter non dixit: transeat a me calix, sed: calix iste, h. e. populi Judaeorum, qui excusationem ignorantiae habere non potest, si me occiderit, habens prophetas, qui de me quotidie vaticinantur.*

When Jesus returned to the three apostles, after this first outpouring of His anguish and prayer, He found them asleep, and in a few words addressed to Peter, He expressed His surprise

[1] Bede, *ad loc.*
[2] Hebr. v. 7.
[3] Jansenius, *ad loc.*
[4] Compare Matthew xvi. 21, Luke xxiv. 25.

and grief at their inability to watch with Him even for a short time. He then admonished them to watch and pray, that they might not enter into temptation. The word "temptation" bears various meanings in Holy Scripture. It is frequently used to designate the trials of this life, which are so called because God intends them to be the means of testing and trying our faith and religion. But sometimes the same word is applied to the sinful movement of concupiscence, that is termed *incitamentum peccandi*. In this passage the first meaning predominates, but the second is not excluded. Although in accordance with God's holy will, the first kind of temptation is intended to test and prove us, such is our frailty that it may arouse in us sinful desires. Therefore our Saviour teaches us to pray that we may not be led into temptation, and bids us watch and pray against it. Spiritual vigilance consists in keeping the eyes of the mind open so as to detect, and if possible avoid, threatening danger in good time, or, if avoidance is impossible, to have recourse to the best means of overcoming whatever imperils our salvation. If we are to bge spiritually vigilant we must practise spiritual sobriety, and not cloud our understanding, nor weaken and impede the action of our will by giving way to ambition, avarice, or sensuality. We possess, however, but little strength, and the force of temptation is great, so that, in addition to watchfulness, we need the support of prayer. Christ's threefold prayer in Gethsemani and the form of His request should teach us to pray often, but to submit, in all that we ask, to God's good pleasure.

When Jesus prayed the second time He emphasized even more strongly the complete subordination of His human will to the divine will of His heavenly Father, and said, "My Father, if this chalice may not pass away, but I must drink it, thy will be done."

The apparition of an angel; the bloody sweat. When on going back to the disciples for the second time Jesus again found them sleeping, He left them and withdrew to endure the last conflict, the details of which are recorded by St. Luke alone. Before it began an angel appeared, strengthening Him. This apparition was real and objective, for the angel could be seen with the eyes of the body, as is proved by the use of the Greek verb ὤφθη and the remark that he came from heaven. An angel announced the birth of the Messiah, an angel brought tidings of that birth

to the shepherds, and again an angel came to comfort the Messiah when He was about to die. Most commentators think that it was Gabriel the archangel, to whom as "the hero of God" the task of strengthening Jesus would be peculiarly suitable; others think it was Michael.

A more important question is, At what stage in our Lord's agony did the angel appear? Three opinions have been expressed on this subject. Some think that the angel came after Christ's first prayer, others that he came at the close of the agony in Gethsemani,[1] and others again that it was just before the third and last struggle, the so-called death agony. Nothing can be adduced in support of the second theory except the analogous appearance of an angel after Christ had overcome all the three temptations in the desert. It finds expression in the hymn of the Office *de oratione D. N. J. Chr. in Monte Oliveti,* which arranges in this order the incidents recorded by St. Luke and runs as follows: *Cum premat tristis pavor ima cordis, Deficit languens Dominus: per artus Sanguinis sudor fluit, atque guttis Terra madescit.—At celer summo veniens Olympo, Angelus Jesum recreat jacentem. Corpori vires redeunt, novoque Robore surgit.* Against this we may notice that, according to St. Luke, the angel strengthened Jesus before the agony began, in order that He might be better able to endure and withstand it. Only very serious reasons would justify us in departing from this evangelist's order of events, and certainly a forced grammatical explanation, such as Cornelius à Lapide gives, is not a sufficient reason. St. Augustine plainly follows St. Luke, for he writes: *Lucas autem praetermisit quoties oraverit: dixit sane, quod isti tacuerunt, et orantem ab angelo confortatum, et prolixius orantis sudorem fuisse sanguineum et guttas decurrentes in terram.*[2] Most recent commentators, so far as they discuss the question at all, keep to this order.

The angel came to strengthen Jesus, both in body and soul, in His human nature, and to enable Him, despite His extreme exhaustion, to endure triumphantly the last supreme conflict. St. Luke does not indicate how Jesus derived strength from the angelic messenger; some exegetes, both early and recent, think that he reminded our Lord of the beneficial results of His death, the glory which it gave to God, the exaltation of Christ's human nature, and the salvation of mankind. Jansenius says: *Verisimile est autem, confortationem istam ab angelo factam suggerendo ei fructum, qui ex passione ad gloriam patris illustrandam et ipsi Christo et toti humano generi sequeretur.* This opinion gains probability when we consider how, in ordinary human life, the prospect of success in a difficult undertaking has power to restore the strength and courage of a man on the verge of a

[1] Older commentators take this view, e.g., Corn. à Lap. and Tir.

[2] De cons. evang. 3, 12.

breakdown. But, we may ask, why was not this encouragement supplied by Christ's own divinity? Why was an angel, one of God's creatures, sent for this purpose? It was not supplied by Christ's divine nature, because, by His extreme self-renunciation, He desired to make known how completely He subjected His human will to the will of God. An angel came to comfort Him, that God might thus outwardly and visibly display His sympathy with the sufferings of Jesus, and men might perceive the magnitude and profound significance of these sufferings, see the result of Christ's prayer, and take to heart the truth that every good gift comes from above. Being thus strengthened and encouraged Jesus entered upon the last supreme mental struggle during which the bloody sweat poured forth, and, as St. Luke tells us, He prayed the longer.

Many various explanations are given of the account of our Lord's bloody sweat.[1] Some suppose His sweat to have been so profuse that in size, density, and weight, though not in color and nature, the drops resembled drops of blood.[2] But θρόμβοι = "clots" sufficiently expresses drops of blood. In classic Greek θρόμβος, both with and without αἵματος, may mean a drop of blood. *Vide* Plummer, St. Luke, p. 510.

St. Luke's words, their interpretation by the Fathers,[3] and the judgment of the Church, all these support the belief that our Lord's sweat consisted of actual blood. As early a writer as Irenaeus takes this view, and says[4] that heretics who deny that Christ took a real human body from Mary, must also deny that He took food, fasted, hungered, wept, and sweated drops of blood. The opinion of the Church on this point is indicated by the words sanctioned by her in the Sorrowful Mysteries of the Rosary: *qui pro nobis sanguinem sudavit.*

We have to consider further whether our Lord's sweat of blood in Gethsemani was natural or miraculous.[5] Sylveira writes: *communis et*

[1] Bynaeus, II, 2, 37–39, discusses the theories propounded up to his time.
[2] Theoph., Euthym., Photius, Grotius, Bynaeus, and others.
[3] Compare Sylveira, viii. 2, 19–21.
[4] Adv. haer. iii. 22, 2.
[5] Some of the fathers regard it as miraculous, e.g., St. Hilary: *de Trinitate*, I, 10, also Bede, *ad loc.* Of modern commentators Knabenbauer, *ad. loc.*, says: *Et si sudor sanguineus in se non simpliciter sit miraculum, tamen copia illa, quae in Christo describitur, modum pro se ferre videtur satis mirabilem et communem naturam longe excedentem.*

vera sententia est, quod Christus absque speciali miraculo ex vi summae ac internae afflictionis ac agoniae sanguinem sudaverit.[1] There are no pathological or physiological difficulties in the way of accepting this statement, although a sweat of blood occurs very rarely. We may account for it in the case of Jesus, and believe that intense mental anguish brought about a corresponding physical disturbance. "And being in an agony He prayed the longer, and His sweat became as drops of blood." Luke xxii. 43b–44. Here the prayer and the bloody sweat are connected, not exactly the agony and the bloody sweat. Not in consequence of His agony did He sweat blood, but the prayer and the resistance of His whole soul against the suffocating agony made Him sweat blood. "He resisteth unto the shedding of blood" and drove the blood out of the pores of His body.

After His agony, Jesus went back to the disciples, bearing on His face the traces of what He had just undergone, and said to them, "Sleep ye now and take your rest." Many commentators think this utterance ironical,[2] but, as I said, it is very doubtful whether our Lord ever spoke ironically, and in any case irony would have been out of place at a moment so critical for both our Saviour and His disciples, when He was suffering such distress of mind. It is more probable that the words were intended as a reproach to the apostles for not having watched with their Master. In my opinion the correct interpretation is given by St. Augustine, who, referring to the form of words recorded by St. Mark, says: *non ab exprobante, sed ab permittente dictum est.*[3] Our Lord, after His sorrow and anguish, allowed His disciples, who were exhausted and worn out with grief, to take a short rest, while it was still possible. It did not last long, for the traitor with his rabble was close at hand, and as they approached Jesus said to the disciples, "Arise, let us go," go, namely, to meet the enemy. He had no thought of escape, but went forward to show how ready He was to die.[4] The passage contains further confirmation of the truth that Jesus was not outwitted by His foes, but without hesitation or reluctance entered upon His Passion, knowing well all that was about to take place.

Two questions arise at this point: (1) How were mental struggles and fear of death possible in Jesus, the God-Man? (2) What circumstances contributed to cause these intense mental sufferings? The answer to the first question is: Jesus took from the Virgin Mary a real and complete

[1] *l. c.* vii. 2, 19.
[2] Theoph., Euthym., Mald., Menoch., Tir.
[3] De cons. evang. 3, 11.
[4] Jerome, Comm. *ad loc.: Ne nos inveniant quae timentes et retrahentes, ultro pergamus ad mortem, ut confidentiam et gaudium passuri videant.*

human body, and in assuming human nature assumed also the natural frailties inseparable from it, thus becoming liable like other men to suffering in body and mind. These sufferings are termed by the Fathers "natural," because they proceed from the natural constitution of humanity and are not sinful. Christ assumed the universal, natural defects and feelings of humanity, not those peculiar to individuals, nor such as are sinful and indecent, for He became as like us in all respects, sin only excepted. Our common bodily and animal frailties are, in fallen man, a consequence of sin, for Adam's fall was the reason why human nature was deprived of that preternatural perfection which would have prevented the incidence of natural defects. Christ, however, though free from all sin, assumed our defects as part of the punishment of mankind. Peter Lombard teaches clearly that Christ was subject only to the general defects of human nature, and took them upon Himself as belonging to the penalty for sin.[1]

According to St. Thomas Aquinas, the Son of God, when He assumed human nature, assumed also the general defects belonging to it, for three reasons: that by His real sufferings He might make satisfaction to His heavenly Father for the sins of men; that He might reveal the truth and reality of His human nature; and, that He might set us an example how to bear our mental and bodily afflictions. Pope Leo the Great wrote to the same effect.[2]

Christ being a divine Person, it follows that not only was He free from all sinful affections, but even the innocent feelings were in His case completely under the control of His reason and will, so that they could assert themselves only so far as He permitted. He allowed intense agony to come upon Him in Gethsemani, in order to humble Himself most profoundly, and to endure, for the salvation of men, the most cruel torments of both mind and body. As we have already seen, it was in keeping with His purpose of complete self-renunciation and abasement, that the strengthening of His human nature proceeded from an angel, a created being, and not from His own divinity.

The reasons for our Lord's agony in Gethsemani have been indicated incidentally; they may be summed up thus: (1) The approaching ill-treatment and cruel death of the Cross; (2) the treachery of Judas, the flight of the apostles, and the denial of Peter; (3) the crushing weight of human sin, which Christ had to bear and expiate; (4) the rejection of the chosen people who refused to believe in and welcome the Messiah; (5) the number of people in every age who would be lost, because they either directly spurned the means of salvation offered to them, or at least failed to make use of them; (6) the shame and insults which Christ has to endure in His eucharistic body, and the persecutions that He undergoes in His mystical body. Regarding the latter He spoke Himself after the resurrection, when

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[1] Petrus Lomb. iii. Sent., dist. 15: *Assumpsit defectus poenae non culpae. Veros quidem habuit defectus, sicut et nos, sed non eadem ex causa. Nos enim ex peccato originali tos defectus contrahimus — Christus autem non ex peccato hujusmodi defectus habuit, quia sine peccato est conceptus et natus et in terris conversatus.*

[2] Sermo 16: de pass.: *Si non potest, inquit, calix iste transire a me, nisi bibam illum, fiat voluntas tua. Haec vox capitis salus est totius corporis; haec omnes fideles instruxit, omnes confessores accendit, omnes martyres coronavit. Nam quis mundi odia, quis tentationum turbines, quis posset persecutorum superare terrores, nisi Christus in omnibus et pro omnibus patiens Patri diceret: fiat voluntas tua.*

he said to Saul, the persecutor, *Saule, Saule, quid me persequeris.*[1] The sufferings of the Soul of our Lord are best explained by St. Mark xiv. 33: ἐκθαμβεῖσθαι = to tremble for fear; ἀδημονεῖν = satiated, wearied, to feel heavy, which is not a higher degree of fear but the Latin *taedere.*

II. Christ is Seized

Matthew xxvi. 47–56

47. As he yet spoke behold Judas, one of the twelve, came and with him a great multitude with swords and clubs, sent from the chief priests and the ancients of the people.

48. And he that betrayed him gave them a sign, saying: Whomsoever I shall kiss, that is he, hold him fast.

49. And forthwith coming to Jesus, he said: Hail, Rabbi, and he kissed him.

50. And Jesus said to him: Friend whereto art thou come? Then they came up and laid hands on Jesus and held him.

51. And behold one of them that were with Jesus stretching forth his hand, drew out his sword, and striking the servant of the high priest, cut off his ear.

52. Then Jesus saith to him: Put up again thy sword into its place; for all that take the sword shall perish with the sword.

53. Thinkest thou that I cannot ask my Father, and he will give me presently more than twelve legions of Angels?

54. How then shall the scriptures be fulfilled, that so it must be done?

55. In that same hour Jesus said to the multitudes: You are come out as it were to a robber with swords and clubs to apprehend me. I sat daily with you teaching in the temple and you laid not hands on me.

56. Now all this was done that the scriptures of the prophets might be fulfilled. Then the disciples all leaving him fled.

Mark xiv. 43–52

43. And while he was yet speaking, cometh Judas Iscariot, one of the twelve, and with him a great multitude with swords and staves from the chief priests, and the scribes and the ancients.

44. And he that betrayed him had given them a sign, saying: Whomsoever I shall kiss, that is he; lay hold on him, and lead him away carefully.

45. And when he was come immediately going up to him, he saith: Hail, Rabbi, and he kissed him.

46. But they laid hands on him, and held him.

47. And one of them that stood by drawing a sword, struck a servant of the chief priest and cut off his ear.

48. And Jesus answering, said to them: Are you come out as to a robber with swords and staves to apprehend me?

49. I was daily with you in the temple teaching, and you did not lay hands on me. But, that the scriptures may be fulfilled.

50. Then his disciples leaving him, all fled away.

51. And a certain young man followed him having a linen cloth cast about his naked body; and they laid hold on him.

52. But he, casting off the linen cloth, fled from them naked.

[1] Acts ix. 4.

LUKE xxii. 47–53

47. As he was yet speaking behold a multitude: and he that was called Judas, one of the twelve, went before them, and drew near to JESUS for to kiss him.

48. And JESUS said to him: Judas, dost thou betray the son of man with a kiss?

49. And they that were about him seeing what would follow, said to him: Lord, shall we strike with the sword?

50. And one of them struck the servant of the high priest, and cut off his right ear.

51. But JESUS answering said: Suffer ye thus far. And when he had touched his ear, he healed him.

52. And JESUS said to the chief priests, and magistrates of the temple, and the ancients that were come unto him: Are you come out as it were against a thief, with swords and clubs?

53. When I was daily with you in the temple, you did not stretch forth your hands against me; but this is your hour and the power of darkness.

JOHN xviii. 2–11

2. And Judas also, who betrayed him, knew the place; because JESUS had often resorted thither together with his disciples.

3. Judas therefore having received a band of soldiers and servants from the chief priests and the Pharisees, cometh thither with lanterns and torches and weapons.

4. JESUS therefore knowing all things that should come upon him, went forth, and said to them: Whom seek ye?

5. They answered him: JESUS OF NAZARETH. JESUS saith to them: I am he. And Judas also who betrayed him, stood with them.

6. As soon therefore as he had said to them: I am he; they went backward and fell to the ground.

7. Again therefore he asked them: Whom seek ye? And they said: JESUS OF NAZARETH.

8. JESUS answered, I have told you, that I am he. If therefore you seek me, let these go their way.

9. That the word might be fulfilled, which he said: Of them whom thou hast given me, I have not lost any one.

10. Then Simon Peter having a sword, drew it; and struck the servant of the high priest, and cut off his right ear. And the name of the servant was Malchus.

11. JESUS therefore said to Peter: Put up thy sword into the scabbard. The chalice which my Father hath given me, shall I not drink it?

The time had now come for Judas to carry out his long and carefully prepared act of treachery. We have seen that in all probability he left the Cenaculum immediately after the institution of the Eucharist, so he had two full hours at his disposal in which to make the final arrangements for the seizure of Jesus. The walk to the Mount of Olives and the Agony took place about midnight. There would be no difficulty in finding Jesus and taking Him prisoner, for with the exception of the

night between Sunday and Monday, which He passed at Bethany,[1] He had spent each night since His solemn entry into Jerusalem in the garden of Gethsemani,[2] on the Mount of Olives. The synoptic writers all speak of the leader of the band that came to seize Jesus as "one of the twelve," thus emphasizing the horrible nature of his deed. Judas belonged to the little band of trusted disciples chosen by our Lord to carry on His work, and now, in direct opposition to his high vocation, he openly entered the service of the devil in order to betray Jesus, according to the promise that he had made to the Sanhedrin.[3] The crowd that came to seize Jesus consisted of a detachment of the Temple guards (ὑπηρέται) with their commanders, a detachment of the Roman cohort stationed in the fortress called Antonia, with a tribune at their head, and private servants (δοῦλοι) of the high priests and Pharisees. That Sanhedrists were also present is obvious, and is stated plainly in St. Luke (xxii. 52). It was their business to see that the seizure was effected in a safe and prudent manner.

Many commentators have found it difficult to account for the presence of Roman soldiers on such an occasion, for the fact that they were led by a tribune shows that their coming was officially sanctioned. Whether this sanction was given by some inferior military commander or by the procurator himself is uncertain; we incline to the latter opinion. If the soldiers were suddenly called out at so late an hour, it seems that there must have been some previous arrangement with the Roman governor, and the employment of Roman soldiery against Jesus was a matter of some importance both to the Sanhedrin and to Pilate. Only Roman soldiers could guarantee the suppression of a possible uproar, that might prove dangerous to the procurator as well as to the Sanhedrin. It has been suggested that the Sanhedrists were anxious to secure the support of the Roman soldiers partly in order to dispose Pilate more favorably toward their other plans. The procurator, resident in Caesarea, was accustomed to come to Jerusalem with a cohort of soldiers on Jewish festivals to keep order among the multitude that assembled at such times; consequently it was easy for the Sanhedrin to ask for a detachment. The presence of Roman soldiers is suggested by Matthew and Mark, in the words "a multitude with swords" (Roman soldiers) and staves or clubs (Temple guards); John, however, mentions them quite plainly. As the Greek word σπεῖρα denotes either a cohort or a smaller number of soldiers,[4] we need not assume that a full cohort of 600 men was employed to arrest Jesus. They carried lanterns and torches, which may have been really needed as the sky was cloudy, although there was a full

[1] Mark xi. 11.
[2] Compare Matthew xxi. 17, and Mark xi. 11, with Luke xxi. 37, xxii. 39.
[3] Matthew xxvi. 14 *seqq.*
[4] Compare John xviii. 3.

moon,[1] or they may have been brought in case of necessity. The fanatical Jews desired to have lanterns and torches at hand to ensure the seizure and death of Him who was the Light of the World.[2]

First scene in our Lord's apprehension. On the way to the Mount of Olives Judas arranged to point out Jesus with a kiss, so that those who had come out to seize Him might be sure of His identity, even in the darkness. At the same time Judas impressed upon them that they must seize Him and lead Him away carefully, so that He might not escape nor be rescued. As they drew near to the garden Judas seems to have reminded the soldiers of the sign agreed upon.[3] Jesus, knowing what was about to happen, had so little intention of taking flight that He actually left the garden and advanced to meet Judas, who walked somewhat in front of the rest, and approached the Master whom he betrayed. The spot where they met is still pointed out. It is outside what is now known as the garden of Gethsemani, at a distance of sixteen or seventeen yards to the south of the place where the three apostles are believed to have slept.[4] Judas uttered the usual greeting, "Hail, Rabbi," and gave our Lord several apparently hearty kisses. Both in word and deed the traitor showed himself an accomplished hypocrite, — he used a kiss, the token of friendship and affection, as a means of betrayal, and he dared still to address his victim as Master and Teacher. Many commentators[5] think that Judas chose to betray our Lord with a kiss in order to conceal his treachery from Jesus and the other apostles; but He who reads the secret of all hearts at once perceived Judas' design and described it in plain language. "Judas," He said (or, according to St. Matthew, "Friend"), "dost thou betray the Son of man with a kiss?" We see here the gentleness of the merciful Master, and the severity of the strict Judge. Each word was intended to lead Judas to repent, if possible, even at the last moment; and there was a threefold reproach conveyed in this short address, — Judas was betraying the Master with whom he had lived in close friendship, he was using a token of friendship and love as a means of betrayal, and He whom he betrayed was the Son of man, Redeemer of the human race. Jesus allowed the traitor

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[1] Baronius, Ann. ad a. 34, n. 67.
[2] Sylveira, viii. 3, 2.
[3] Compare Matthew xxvi. 48.
[4] Kirchenlexikon, 5, 560.
[5] St. Jerome, Jansenius, and others.

to kiss him because He wished to avoid any appearance of having provoked His arrest, because He desired to reveal His great love of men, and to teach us by actions as well as by words to love our persecutors.[1] Jesus was thus made known to the soldiers, but His actual seizure was delayed by an event that St. John alone records. The significance of it is indicated by the evangelist in the verse that introduces the account.[2]

Second scene, recorded only by St. John, who prefixes the remark that Jesus knew all things that should come upon Him and went voluntarily to meet His sufferings.[3] Our Lord stepped forward in front of His disciples, and went toward the troop of men, asking them whom they sought. Judas must have quickly rejoined them, for St. John says that he was standing with them. "Judas also, who betrayed Him, stood with them." This short statement is very significant. When the evangelist calls Judas a traitor and says that he stood with Christ's enemies, he means that Judas, who had just hypocritically kissed his Master, was then making common cause with that Master's foes in order to show that he had done his work. Why did Jesus ask, "Whom seek ye?" The following incident supplies the answer: the Jews were to be forced to acknowledge publicly that they were seeking the Messiah, and were at the same time to learn the divine power of the Master whom Judas had just betrayed. They replied, "Jesus of Nazareth," and on hearing the words, "I am he," they shrank backward and fell to the ground. The evangelists record many events in our Lord's life which showed that the manifestation of His divine power overcame all human resistance, and the force of His words deeply stirred the hearts of men.[4] In Gethsemani such an astounding effect was produced by the utterance of the words, "I am he," as to prove in a convincing manner that Jesus of Nazareth possessed divine power, and was indeed God. St. Leo in speaking of this miracle says: *quidnam poterit majestas ejus judicatura, cujus hoc potuit humilitas judicanda?*[5]

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[1] Matthew v. 44.
[2] xviii. 4.
[3] Tol. *ad loc.* remarks: *Consulto Joannes haec verba omnibus, quae de passione Domini narranda sunt, praemittit, ut nihil praeter ejus voluntatem et scientiam ei invenisse omnibus constaret, sed ex voluntate et consilio divino omnia esse perpessum.*
[4] e.g., at the Purification of the Temple. Compare John vii. 45, 46.
[5] Sermo 1; de pass.

The question has often been raised whether the whole troop sent out against Jesus fell to the ground, or only those men who were to bind Him. Some commentators think that only a few men fell, but there is nothing in the gospel account to support this theory. Jesus in His humiliation wished to display His divine majesty and power, but He would not prevent the still deeper humiliation awaiting Him in accordance with God's decree; therefore, after asking a question and receiving an answer, He declared emphatically that He was the person whom the multitude sought. He submitted readily to His arrest, asking only that His disciples might be spared; for they were still unable to face the horrors of death, and were, moreover, destined to carry on His work on earth after His own departure. Even amidst the greatest dangers Christ provided for the physical and spiritual safety of His apostles, and in His fatherly care for them He showed His zeal for the salvation of mankind. In His intercession for the apostles St. John sees the fulfillment of words uttered previously in His prayer at the Last Supper.[1]

According to St. John's account the leaders of the troop twice called our Lord "Jesus of Nazareth." The reason and significance of this appellation may be discussed briefly. St. Matthew says[2] that prophets had foretold that Jesus should be called a Nazarite (or Nazarene), and this prophecy was fulfilled when, on their return from Egypt, the holy family settled at Nazareth. Jesus spoke of Himself as "of Nazareth"[3] and was thus designated by devils[4] and by men.[5] His followers too were called Nazarenes,[6] and at the present day the name is still given to Christians in the East. As, however, there is no prophecy extant in which the Messiah is directly called a Nazarene, various explanations of the passage in St. Matthew, and of the meaning of the name as applied to Jesus, have been suggested. The following seems to be the most probable. In the passage in question St. Matthew was thinking primarily of the words of Isaias, in which the prophet speaks of the Messiah as a rod (*Nezer*) of Jesse. Similar expressions occur in Jeremias and Zacharias,[7] who call Him a branch of the root. When Jesus took up His abode in Nazareth, the prophecy was fulfilled in two senses, the first being due to the likeness between the name *Nezer*, applied by the prophet to the Messiah, and that of the town of Nazareth, which was probably called simply Nezer by the Jews. The name Nazareth and the word Nezer are both derived from the same root *nazer*. The second sense in which the stay at Nazareth was a fulfillment of prophecy is this: When Isaias speaks of a rod of the root of Jesse, the word rendered root means literally stump, and suggests that the Messiah would be of lowly origin, and His kingdom would grow from very small beginnings.[8] This prophecy was fulfilled when Jesus prepared for His messianic work in the quite unimportant town of Nazareth, which is not even mentioned in the Old Testament, and at the time of our Lord its inhabitants did not enjoy a good reputation among the other Jews.[9] This explanation is given by St. Jerome in his commentary on Matthew and Isaias and also in his epistle to Pammachius.

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[1] John xvii. 12.
[2] ii. 23.
[3] Acts xxii. 8.
[4] Mark i. 24; Luke iv. 34.
[5] Matthew xxvi; Mark x. 47, xiv. 67, xvi. 6; Luke xxiii. 37, xxvi. 19; John xvii. 5, 7, xix. 19, and frequently in the Acts of the Apostles.
[6] Acts xxiv. 5.
[7] Jer. xxiii. 5, xxxiii. 15; Zach. iii. 8.
[8] Compare Knabenb., Comm. in Is. xi. 1.
[9] John i. 46.

Third scene, Peter's action. After those sent out to seize Jesus had risen from the ground and recovered from their fright, they proceeded with their work; the apostles, perceiving their purpose, were eager to defend our Lord, and no sooner had the leaders laid hands upon Him [1] when St. Peter, the bold, zealous, resolute apostle, drew his sword and cut off the right ear of Malchus, a servant of the high priest. Peter probably aimed the blow at the man's head, but only hit his ear, either by God's ordinance or because Malchus tried to evade the blow. That he acted with deliberation seems unlikely when we consider both his impetuous disposition and the critical moment at which the blow was struck. As the apostles usually went unarmed, we may assume that on this occasion Peter had purposely carried a sword in order to defend his Master against the dangers He had foretold. The Jewish law did not forbid the carrying of arms on the eve of a festival. St. John, who wrote long after Peter's death, alone mentions the man by name; the other evangelists refrain from doing so, probably to avoid exciting the hostility of the Romans against Peter. Our Saviour was quick to condemn the apostle's action. Three evangelists record His rebuke and we may follow Bynaeus [2] in harmonizing their accounts. First of all, Jesus impressed upon His disciples that they must not offer resistance to the officers, nor try to hinder His arrest, then He miraculously healed Malchus, and, lastly, gave the reason for His admonition to the disciples and His rebuke to Peter. He showed why Peter's action deserved blame. The words "All that take the sword shall perish with the sword" are a principle in law, laid down in accordance with Gen. ix. 6. They mean that whoever needlessly and without authority has recourse to violence will die by the sword. This saying is quoted as a Biblical justification of capital punishment in the case of great offenders.[3] Peter did wrong because he drew the sword without his Master's bidding, and also because, as far as in him lay, he resisted the divine scheme of salvation that had already been made known to him.[4]

Commentators both early and recent have regarded our Lord's

[1] Compare Matthew xxvi. 50 and 51, not, however, Luke and John.
[2] II, 3, 28.
[3] Sylveira: *de jure est sermo, non de eventu.*
[4] Ambros. De Offic. 3, c. 4: *Noluit se Christus a persecutorum defendere vulnere, qui voluit suo vulnere omnes sanare.*

words as a prophetic announcement of the punishment to be inflicted upon the Jews for killing the Messiah. Others, however, regard them merely as a proverbial saying meaning that every one is punished with the instrument of his offence.[1]

It was unnecessary for Peter or any of the apostles to offer resistance, since Jesus, if He wished to be rescued, could call the hosts of heaven to His aid. The strength and certainty of this help is expressed vividly by the phrase "twelve legions of angels." Had the rescue of Jesus formed part of the divine scheme of salvation, a vast host of heavenly warriors could have been summoned to oppose the small number of frail men.[2]

Our Saviour declared solemnly and emphatically, as Matthew and John tell us, that it behooved Him to be given up to His enemies, in order that the prophecy of His Passion should be fulfilled, and that He should drink the chalice of suffering given Him by His Father. Our Saviour was no doubt thinking of the Prophet Isaias, who foretold the suffering of the Messiah, representing Him as a lamb that makes no complaints when brought to the slaughter.

Last of all, Christ turned to His enemies. St. Luke tells us that He addressed the chief priests and magistrates of the Temple, and denounced the violence and cunning of their proceedings, laying stress upon the fact that His seizure and abduction were possible only because God permitted them. Not like a coward or one guilty of crime did Jesus try to escape from His foes; on the contrary, when the time appointed by His Father for Him to suffer arrived He passed the days openly in the midst of His enemies, and taught the people in the Temple, showing that He had no fear of death and nothing to conceal from the Sanhedrin. His allusion to His own mode of action was a sufficient condemnation of the methods of the Sanhedrists, who sought Him out and effected His arrest under cover of darkness. He fell into the hands of the Jews, not through any helplessness of His own, but because God permitted it, and He impressed

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[1] Wisdom, xi. 17.

[2] Bede sees in our Lord's words also an allusion to the destruction of Jerusalem by Roman legions. After giving the usual explanation, he continues: *aliter autem hic numerus omne genus hominum significat cum Romano imperio, hi sunt angeli Dei, qui Dei exercuerunt judicium, quando post suam resurrectionem, anno quadragesimo secundo missi a Domino sceleratam urbem perdiderunt.*

this truth upon the officers when He said "this is your hour and the power of darkness." The Jews had often sought to seize Jesus, but had never succeeded because His hour had not yet come, but when it arrived He gave Himself without resistance into their hands. They were the instruments of the devil, who made use of them to take their Saviour captive and nail Him to the cross. The truth that the Jews, who under the guidance of Judas went out to seize Jesus, were in the devil's employ, was stated plainly by our Saviour when He referred to the "power of darkness." Since Israel voluntarily entered the service of the power of darkness it was fully responsible for the murder of the Messiah. The officers did not dare to interrupt Jesus while He was speaking, but when He had finished He was bound and led away, and all the apostles fled as He had foretold.

The young man who took flight. St. Mark alone records another incident connected with our Lord's arrest. After all the apostles had forsaken their Master, He was followed for a time by a young man, clad only in one linen garment. When the people who were leading Jesus back in bonds to the city tried to lay hold of this young man, he cast off his linen cloth and fled from them naked. St. Mark related the occurrence in order to show how intensely the Jews hated Jesus, and how dangerous the situation was for His adherents.[1] Many theories exist as to the identity of this young man, and the relation in which he stood to Christ. St. Ambrose,[2] St. John Chrysostom,[3] St. Gregory the Great,[4] the Venerable Bede,[5] and Baronius[6] all think that it was St. John the Evangelist, who in his grief had left his outer garment behind in the Supper Room and had gone out to the Mount of Olives clad only in the sindon that he had worn at supper. St. Bede gives two reasons for identifying the young man with St. John: (1) the apostle was very young at the time of the Passion; (2) his devotion to his Master was very great, and caused him alone to follow Christ, to take flight only when His enemies tried to seize him also.

On the other hand Epiphanius,[7] and to some extent Theophylact,[8] incline to the belief that the young man was St. James the

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[1] Compare Sylveira, viii. 3, 18. [2] In Ps. xxxvi. [3] In Ps. xiii.
[4] L. 14 moral, c. 13. [5] In Marc., c. 14. [6] Ann. ad a. 34, n. 67.
[7] Haeres, 78. [8] *Ad loc.*

Less, our Lord's kinsman, who was afterwards Bishop of Jerusalem, because, according to Nicephorus, this apostle wore a white linen garment all his life. Against these views we must acknowledge that St. Mark draws a clear distinction between the apostles, who *all* took flight, and the young man who followed our Lord. Moreover there is no ground for accepting the theory given above on the subject of St. John's clothing at supper, and St. James could hardly have been described as a young man at the time of our Lord's death.

Many recent commentators think that the young man was St. Mark himself. This view is opposed to the traditional theory that John Mark was not one of the band of disciples associated with our Lord during His earthly life. It is clear that the nameless young man must have been closely connected with Him, for the evangelist states explicitly that he followed Jesus, not the multitude of those who were leading Him away bound. From his dress we may assume that he had been aroused from sleep by the uproars. There is nothing in the gospel account that enables us to decide whether he had followed Jesus from Jerusalem or followed Him only after His arrest; of the two the latter theory seems more probably correct.

SECTION IV

CHRIST BEFORE THE JEWISH AND GENTILE TRIBUNALS

In their accounts of the events belonging under this head the sacred writers differ considerably, both on important and on minor points. As their differences will be discussed in dealing with the subjects to which they refer, it will suffice here to give a short summary of the Biblical passages with which we have to deal.

This section contains the account of:

1. The trial of Jesus before the ex-high priest Annas, father-in-law of Josephus Caiphas, the high priest in office. St. John alone records this trial. Many commentators, however, do not accept the theory that Annas held a previous examination of Jesus when He was brought before Him.

2. The night session of the Sanhedrin. As no definite result was obtained from the witnesses Jesus was condemned to death for blasphemy on His own evidence that He was the Son of God. This is recorded by St. Matthew and St. Mark only.

3. Peter's denial. Two allusions in St. Mark's account seem to indicate not only the hour when each denial was uttered, but also the part of the night during which the Sanhedrin was sitting. All the evangelists record the denial.

4. The morning session of the Sanhedrin. This is mentioned by St. Matthew and St. Mark, who distinguish it clearly from the night session, although Luke alone gives an exact report of the proceedings. No witnesses were called, but Jesus, after repeating the assertion that was considered blasphemous, was formally condemned to death and handed over to the procurator. St. John says nothing of this session.

5. Suicide of Judas, recorded by St. Matthew alone.

6. First trial before Pilate. Jesus was accused of stirring up and misleading the people; Pilate pronounced Him innocent,

and put off the proceedings by sending Jesus to Herod. All the evangelists record this trial.

7. Jesus was mocked and insulted by Herod. Only St. Luke gives an account of this incident.

8. Jesus was handed over to Pilate, and Barabbas released. The following points are important: Pilate deliberated not only with the Sanhedrists, but also with the populace. He proposed to have Jesus chastised and then set Him free; and when this offer was rejected, he allowed the people to choose between the release of Jesus and that of Barabbas, a thief and murderer. At the instigation of the Sanhedrists the people noisily demanded the release of Barabbas and the crucifixion of Jesus; Pilate, after washing his hands to show that he had nothing to do with the matter, yielded, as St. Matthew tells us, to the demand of the Jews; but no formal condemnation was yet pronounced. All four evangelists record these things.

9. Jesus was scourged and mocked. St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. John mention this.

10. The *ecce homo,* the formal condemnation of Christ. Pilate made a last attempt to save Him by presenting Him to the Jews mangled and bleeding, in order, if possible, to arouse their pity; then, when Pilate again declared that he considered Jesus innocent of the charge brought against Him, the Jews altered their tactics, and accused Jesus of blasphemy, demanding His death in accordance with the law of Moses, and supporting their demand by a covert threat to accuse the procurator of disloyalty to the Emperor. Thereupon Pilate gave way and sentenced Jesus to be crucified.

I. Christ Before Annas

John xviii. 12–14, 19–24

12. Then the band and the tribune, and the servants of the Jews took Jesus, and bound him.

13. And they led him away to Annas first, for he was father-in-law to Caiphas, who was the high priest of that year.

14. Now Caiphas was he who had given the counsel to the Jews that it was expedient that one man should die for the people.

19. The high priest therefore asked Jesus of his disciples and of his doctrine.

20. Jesus answered him: I have spoken openly to the world; I have always taught in the synagogue, and in the temple whither all the Jews resort, and in secret I have spoken nothing.

21. Why askest thou me? ask them who have heard what I have spoken

unto them: behold they know what things I have said.

22. And when he had said these things one of the servants standing by gave Jesus a blow, saying: Answerest thou the high priest so?

23. Jesus answered him: If I have spoken evil, give testimony of the evil: but if well, why strikest thou me?

24. And Annas sent him bound to Caiphas the high priest.

To take up the above event in detail we note first St. John's statement that Jesus was dragged away bound from Gethsemani, and taken first to Annas and then to Caiphas. The synoptic writers do not mention His appearance before Annas, but speak as though He had been taken direct to Caiphas. It is clear that there is no contradiction involved, since the accounts given by the evangelists supplement one another.

Annas, or Hannas, also called by Josephus Ananus, was appointed high priest about the year 6 A.D. by Publius Sulpicius Quirinius, at the beginning of his second term of office in Syria.[1] Some ten years later, in 15 A.D., about eighteen years before our Saviour's death, he was deposed by Valerius Gratus, Pontius Pilate's predecessor. Annas lived to a great age, and had the good fortune of seeing all his five sons appointed successively to the high priesthood, for which reason Josephus regards him as one of the most fortunate of men.[2]

Though deprived of his high office Annas was extremely influential in Jerusalem, owing to his close connection with important persons, as well as to his wealth, energy, and cunning.

St. John says that Jesus was taken "to Annas," not to the house of Annas. A comparison of this evangelist's account with those of the synoptic writers seems to show that Annas was at that time living in the house of his son-in-law Caiphas. It is of course possible that he did not occupy that house permanently, but was there just at that time. This possibility increases to very decided probability when we consider the events of that night. Annas would, on hearing that Jesus was about to be arrested, naturally hasten to the powerful high priest. Hence St. John's account is not opposed to the tradition which distinguishes the house of Annas from that of Caiphas. The former is said to have stood within the present south wall of the city, approximately on the site where an Armenian convent now stands. The house of Caiphas was situated southwest of that of Annas, and about seventy-five yards north of the Supper Room. Thus it was outside the present wall of the city and

[1] Josephus, Ant. xviii. 2, 1.

[2] Ant. xx. 9, 1.

near the Armenian monastery of Mount Sion. It would be quite easy to walk in half an hour from Gethsemani to the southern part of the Temple hill, and therefore we may assume that Jesus was brought before Annas at the beginning of the third night watch, which lasted from midnight to three o'clock. This is borne out by the indications of time that occur in the accounts of Peter's denial. St. John, in speaking of Annas, says, "he was father-in-law to Caiphas, who was the high priest of that year." Various explanations have been given of these words;[1] they certainly are intended to account for the fact that Christ was taken first to Annas; it was not because Annas held any official position at that time, but because he was related to the high priest. Caiphas had given instructions that Jesus should be taken to Annas, because the latter as his father-in-law enjoyed a high reputation, was an influential, rich, shrewd, and energetic man, and also because he had zealously supported every movement hostile to Jesus.

The high priest's full name was Josephus Caiphas; he became high priest about 18 A.D.,[2] when Valerius Gratus was procurator, and was deprived of his office by Vitellius in 36 or 37 A.D. We learn from St. John's gospel (xi. 49, 50) that he was an arrogant and unscrupulous man. The evangelists three times allude to him as the high priest of that year, not meaning that there was a different high priest every year, nor that Caiphas held office for one year only, nor that under the Roman dominion the high priests were frequently changed,[3] nor that Annas and Caiphas had agreed to hold the office in alternate years, but the expression denotes that the year in question was one of supreme importance in the history of the Jews. For the same reason the evangelist refers again here to the remark made by Caiphas, in his capacity as high priest, before the assembled Sanhedrists when, after the raising of Lazarus, they met to decide what steps they should take against Jesus.

Jesus before Annas. Annas opened the proceedings by asking our Lord about His disciples and His doctrine, and showed himself to be a shrewd, vigilant man, who had never lost sight of Christ's career, and perceived the critical situation that His appearance had caused in the history of Israel. During His public ministry, that was now at an end, Jesus had acted like a wise teacher, who takes into account the capacity of his pupils,

[1] Bynaeus, II, 4, 4, 5, gives an accurate collection of the explanations suggested before his time.
[2] According to Friedlieb it was not until 26 A.D.
[3] Bynaeus, II, 4, 5.

and had revealed Himself with ever-increasing clearness as the Messiah, the Son of God; He had enumerated the benefits offered by the Messianic kingdom to those who accept it with faith, and He had pointed out the miserable lot of those who in their unbelief reject Him, the one, sole Saviour of mankind. Moreover, He had chosen a few of His disciples to be more closely associated with Himself, that thus they might be prepared for their future work;[1] He had sent them forth, thus initiating them personally into the task that lay before them, the dangers and significance of which He had explained fully and impressively when He instructed them how to proceed.[2] It was therefore only natural that Annas, who carefully watched current events, should question our Lord regarding His disciples, their number, their relation to Himself and their aims, as well as regarding His own doctrine. We can easily understand why the question about the disciples preceded that about doctrine at a moment when he had Jesus in safe custody. Our Lord's reply frustrated the design of the crafty interrogation. He solemnly asserted that He had made no secret of His doctrines, but had expounded them publicly to vast numbers of people. The history of His Messianic ministry bore witness to the truth of this statement, for Jesus had taught publicly in Galilee, where He proclaimed, chiefly in the synagogue, the good tidings of the Messianic kingdom;[3] He had spoken openly at Jerusalem, especially on great festivals, to the amazement of the Jews; He had chosen the Temple as the scene of His activity.[4] In the answer that He now gave to Annas, our Saviour impressed upon him the following truth: "A detailed answer to your question is now not necessary, because it has been already given by the public ministry of the Messiah, and it would be useless, because, though you ask the question you have no comprehension of, and no genuine interest in, my doctrine."

Annas was greatly embarrassed by Christ's firm and decided attitude, and his embarrassment was increased by the manner in which Jesus rebuked the vulgar and unlawful action of an officious servant who struck Him in the face. The words in which the man sought to justify his rudeness are important, as are those of our Lord's rebuke. The servant's remark shows

[1] Mark iii. 14.
[2] Matthew x. 5 *seqq.*
[3] Matthew iv. 23.
[4] John vii. 14, 15.

quite plainly that Christ's fearless, resolute, and undecided bearing had put Annas in an unpleasant position, from which the servant wished to deliver him by active intervention. Christ, on the other hand, in the words with which He condemned the man's action, gave a practical interpretation of the general principles laid down in the Sermon on the Mount,[1] regarding the behavior of Christians toward sinful and unjust persons. He wished there to give a plain and definite illustration of the *principles* which ought to inspire a Christian in dealing with his oppressors, but He did not intend to lay down rules for outward actions. St. Bede asks why Jesus did not act Himself as He had taught his followers to act, and he finds an answer in St. Augustine: *Hic dicit aliquis: cur non fecit, quod ipse praecepit? Percutienti enim non sic respondere, sed maxillam debuit alteram praeparare. Quid? quod et veraciter et mansuete justeque respondit et non solum alteram maxillam iterum percussuro sed totum corpus figendum praeparavit; et hic potius demonstravit quod demonstrandum fuit, sua scilicet magna illa praecepta patientiae non ostensione corporis, sed cordis praeparatione facienda.*[2] Moreover, in this case it behooved Jesus to speak, because silence might have been misinterpreted as a confession of guilt. Annas found a means of escape from his embarrassment by sending Jesus to Caiphas.

Most commentators assume that Annas did not personally try Jesus, and that the account given in John xviii. 19–24, either refers to our Lord's trial by Caiphas before the meeting of the Sanhedrin, or to the proceedings of the Sanhedrin itself. The reason for this opinion is that St. John himself says that the high priest questioned Jesus, and, apparently, the context shows that the high priest meant was Caiphas and not Annas,[3] who was not high priest at all at that time. Therefore the concluding remark added to the account of the trial, to the effect that Annas had sent Jesus to Caiphas, should be regarded as an interpolation which ought to have been inserted earlier. On the other hand it should be borne in mind: that (1) in the New Testament we frequently read of high priests, as if there were several, and consequently we must assume the title to have been given to others besides the official high priest; (2) Annas is more than once mentioned as high priest with Caiphas, his name being placed first,[4] so that there can be no doubt as to his having been recognized as a high priest, and having possessed more influence and reputation than Caiphas; (3) the account of the sending

[1] Matthew v. 39–42.
[2] Comm. in evang. Joannis.
[3] Compare John xviii. 19 with xviii. 13.
[4] Luke iii. 2; Acts iv. 6.

of Jesus to Caiphas is introduced by the particle "and,"[1] which is retained by the best critics. This word shows clearly that the sending was a result of the embarrassment caused to Annas by the unexpected turn of events in the trial that he had begun. Consequently, it seems best to follow those commentators and scholars[2] who believe that in John xviii. 19–24 we have the account of a trial of Jesus before Annas. This was intended to be a preliminary to the formal judicial proceedings in the Sanhedrin.

II. The Night Session of the Sanhedrin

Matthew xxvi. 57–64

57. But they holding Jesus led him to Caiphas the high priest, where the scribes and the ancients were assembled.

58. And Peter followed him afar off, even to the court of the high priest. And going in, he sat with the servants, that he might see the end.

59. And the chief priests and the whole council sought false witness against Jesus, that they might put him to death.

60. And they found not, whereas many false witnesses had come in. And last of all there came two false witnesses;

61. And they said: This man saith, I am able to destroy the temple of God, and after three days to rebuild it.

62. And the high priests rising up, saith to him: Answerest thou nothing for the things which these witness against thee?

63. But Jesus held his peace. And the high priest said to him: I adjure thee by the living God that thou tell us if thou be the Christ the Son of God.

64. Jesus saith to him: Thou hast said it. Nevertheless I say to you hereafter you shall see the son of man sitting on the right hand of the power of God, and coming in the clouds of heaven.

Mark xiv. 53–62

53. And they brought Jesus to the high priests and all the priests and the scribes and the ancients assembled together.

54. And Peter followed him afar off even into the court of the high priests; and he sat with the servants at the fire and warmed himself.

55. And the chief priests and all the council sought for evidence against Jesus, that they might put him to death, and found none.

56. For many bore false witness against him, and their evidences were not agreeing.

57. And some rising up bore false witness against him, saying:

58. We heard him say, I will destroy this temple made with hands, and within three days I will build another not made with hands.

59. And their witness did not agree.

60. And the high priest rising up in the midst, asked Jesus, saying: Answerest thou nothing to the things that are laid to thy charge by all these men.

61. But he held his peace and answered nothing. Again the high priest asked him, and said to him: Art thou the Christ the Son of the blessed God?

62. And Jesus saith to him: I am. And you shall see the son of man sitting on the right hand of the

[1] The Vulgate has "ET misit."

[2] Nonnus, Ammonius, Lyranus, Cajetan, Baronius (ad ann. 34, n. 70): *Annas Pontifex jure et officio* (because according to Baronius he was *praefectus magno concilio*) *Christum interrogabat de discipulis ejus atque doctrina.*

MATTHEW xxvi. 65–68

65. Then the high priest rent his garments, saying: He hath blasphemed, what further need have we of witnesses? Behold now you have heard the blasphemy.

66. What think you? But they answering said: He is guilty of death.

67. Then did they spit in his face, and buffeted him, and others struck his face with the palms of their hands.

68. Saying: Prophesy unto us, O Christ; who is he that struck thee?

MARK xiv. 63

power of God and coming with the clouds of heaven.

63. Then the high priest rending his garments saith: What need we any farther witnesses?

LUKE xxii. 54, 63–65

54. And apprehending him they led him to the high priest's house. But Peter followed afar off.

63. And the men that held him, mocked him, and struck him.

64. And they blindfolded him and smote his face. And they asked him, saying: Prophesy. Who is it that struck thee?

65. And blaspheming, many other things they said against him.

Only the synoptic gospels contain an account of Christ's examination before Caiphas, the high priest, and His condemnation by the Sanhedrin. St. John merely says that Jesus was taken from Annas to Caiphas, by whom He was handed over to Pilate. Apparently the reason why this evangelist passes over the intervening transactions is to be found in the fact that they are very fully recorded in the other gospels, in which a clear distinction is made between a night session and a morning session of the Sanhedrin. St. Matthew and St. Mark tell us in detail what took place at the night session, and record the mockery of our Saviour after He had been condemned to death; of all the incidents during the night St. Luke records only the last; but he gives a fuller account of the morning session, to which the other two evangelists only make a short allusion. Other opinions regarding the relation of the synoptic accounts to one another will be stated and discussed in the introduction to the section dealing with the subject.

After the examination of Jesus, which had taken such an unexpected turn, Annas, without pronouncing any sentence, sent Him to Caiphas, who as the actual high priest alone had authority to give sentence in the Sanhedrin. The gospels contain incidental but definite allusions showing that the meeting of the council, at which Jesus was condemned, was held in an upper room in Caiphas' palace, the position of which was discussed in our preceding section. The proceedings began between one and two o'clock in the night and ended between three and four in the morning. The reasons for assigning this hour to the meeting will be given more fully in the chapter on Peter's denial. There was no difficulty in calling the Sanhedrists together, be-

cause[1] some of them were in the crowd that effected our Lord's seizure. All arrangements were made for holding the important council meeting as quickly as possible, and for speedily carrying out its decisions.

A short account of the origin, constitution, and power of the Sanhedrin, as well as of the methods of procedure in judicial matters, will not be out of place here, since it was this assembly that sentenced our divine Saviour to death and handed Him over to the Roman procurator, that also violently persecuted the apostles and disciples of Christ,[2] and that in all probability organized a movement to counteract the effect of St. Paul's missionary labors.

The Talmudists trace the supreme Jewish Council back to the assembly of seventy ancients summoned by Moses at God's command,[3] but the Sanhedrin, as it existed in the time of Christ, originated during the Syrian dominion over Palestine. The first mention of the name Sanhedrin occurs in the reigns of Antipater and Herod the Great,[4] but the "Gerusia" of the Jews, that may probably be identified with the Sanhedrin, is mentioned earlier.[5] It consisted, including the high priest, of seventy-one, or, according to other authorities, of seventy-two members,[6] and was composed of high priests, scribes, and elders of the people. Among the high priests were the actual high priest, ex-high priests, and the heads of the twenty-four classes of priests or, as some think, the members of those privileged classes from which the high priests were selected. Of the other members, men of learning formed the class of scribes, and the others that of ancients or elders of the people. The presiding officer was either the high priest himself, or, if he were unable to attend, his deputy, who, according to rabbinical tradition, was called the "Father of the Court."

The regular meeting place of the Council was the Gazith, the hall of hewn stone, which may be identified with the βουλή or βουλευτήριον mentioned by Josephus. It stood at the foot of the western slope of the Temple hill, near the bridge leading from the Xystus in the upper city to the Temple hill.[7] Gazith is according to some Gazzith, i.e., Zayin is with Dagbesh, *vide* Pinsker, *Einleitung i. d. babyl.-hebr. Punktationssystem, Gesenius, Handwörterbuch über d. Alte Testament.*

While St. Matthew and St. Mark merely state that our Lord was taken to Caiphas, St. Luke says distinctly "to the high priest's house"; hence it is clear that the trial and condemnation of Jesus took place there.

In accordance with the theocratic constitution of Israel, the Sanhedrin was the supreme ecclesiastical and secular court of the Jews, and possessed authority to deal with the whole administration of justice, so far as this did

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[1] Compare Luke xxii. 52.
[2] Acts iv. 15; v. 21; vi. 12; ix. 1, 2; xxii. 30; xxiii. 1.
[3] Num. xi. 16.
[4] Josephus, Ant. xiv. 9, 4.
[5] 2 Mach. i. 10; Josephus, Ant. xii. 3, 3.
[6] Baronius, Ann. ad ann. 34, n. 70.
[7] Josephus, B. J., v. 4, 2. The Xystus was a covered colonnade, used for gymnastic exercises; its name was derived from the Greek ξύειν, to smooth, because its floor consisted of smooth stones. It is generally assumed that the Gazith formed part of the Temple buildings and was situated inside the outer wall of the Temple.

not fall within the scope of lower tribunals, and had not been restricted by the Roman governors. We see from the history of St. Paul that the high priests' power was recognized by Jews beyond the borders of the Holy Land. The Sanhedrin's mode of proceeding in criminal cases was arranged strictly by the Law of Moses and by traditional usage. The latter forbade meetings of the Sanhedrin at night; the proper time being defined as between morning and evening.[1] According to custom, judicial proceedings might begin after the morning sacrifice had been offered, i.e., about 7 A.M., and had to end with the evening sacrifice at sundown. Moreover, the Talmudists[2] assert that a death sentence could not be pronounced until the day after the trial and examination of witnesses. The accused person took his place on a platform in the court of justice, opposite to the Sanhedrists, with his counsel on his right, and to the right and left of these two persons sat a clerk, the duty of the one on the right being to record the defence and acquittal, and of the one on the left to note down the charge and sentence. Close by stood attendants, ready to guard the prisoner, to call in the witnesses, and, in case the accused was found guilty, to bind him and lead him away. The presiding official, pledged by the Mosaic law to strictest impartiality, opened the proceedings by formulating the accusation; then evidence was given, first by witnesses for the defence, who were given precedence by the rules of the court. The witnesses for the prosecution were heard afterwards. On both sides the witnesses were brought forward and examined singly, and their examination took place only after they had been most strictly charged to tell nothing but the truth, under pain of severe punishment. The law of Moses[3] required that the evidence of at least two witnesses must agree, if it were to have any weight. When all the witnesses had been heard, the defendant, his counsel, and the prosecutor were listened to. The judges then gave their verdict, their votes being counted by clerks. The rules of the court required a certain number of Sanhedrists to be present at every trial, and the majority of their votes determined the verdict.

The witnesses at the trial of Christ. A comparison of these rules of procedure with the actual record of what took place at our Lord's trial will at once reveal the gross injustice practised by the Sanhedrin. It was as illegal to try a prisoner between one and three in the morning as it was to pronounce sentence at the same meeting of the Sanhedrin. All the proceedings were manifestly prejudiced, for the court was not concerned with ascertaining the truth or falsehood of charges brought against Jesus, but was determined upon finding a pretext for putting Him to death. There is not a word in the gospels to indicate that any counsel appeared in His defence, nor that any witnesses for the defence were called, although the Jewish law gave them precedence over those for the prosecution. The latter, however, played an important part. As the Sanhedrists

[1] Sanhedrin, iv. 1: *judicia capitalia transigunt interdiu et finiunt interdiu.*
[2] Sanhedrin, iv. 1.
[3] Deut. xix. 15.

were determined on our Lord's execution, they actually went about looking for people disposed to bear false testimony in accordance with the design of the judges, and so to secure His condemnation. The evangelists simply state that, although many false witnesses came forward, the judges could not obtain from them any evidence which served their purpose.[1]

St. Mark's account[2] seems to suggest that the witnesses were not brought in and examined singly, as the rules of the court required, but that they were all present at once and followed the course of the proceedings.

Finally two false witnesses came forward who referred to our Lord's words, recorded by St. John,[3] and uttered when, after performing His Messianic action of purifying the Temple, He justified it against the criticism of the Sanhedrists. The evangelist tells us[4] that our Lord spoke of His body as the Temple. But the testimony of the two false witnesses did not agree. How did they falsify our Lord's words? It was wrong to apply them to the Jewish Temple, although it is possible that in this point the witnesses acted in misunderstanding and not through malice; they did, however, wilfully distort facts when they represented Jesus as saying, "I am able to," or "I will" destroy the Temple, whereas He had spoken of its destruction by the Sanhedrists. St. Bede remarks: *paucis additis vel mutatis quasi justam calumniam faciunt; commutant et aiunt: ego dissolvam hoc templum manufactum et Salvator: vos, inquit, solvite non ego.* The purpose of this misrepresentation is obvious: Jesus was to stand convicted of presumption and of sacrilegious intention against the national sanctuary, and hence against God, for the Temple was His house. St. Mark says in a general way that the evidence of these two false witnesses did not agree, but he does not tell us in what respect they differed. From the fact that no allusion was made to their testimony when the death sentence was pronounced, we must infer that they had contradicted each other on important points, thus rendering their evidence worthless.[5]

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[1] Matthew xxvi. 60 reads *non invenerunt*, and in some manuscripts of the Latin text attempts have been made to supplement this reading; suggested additions are: *exitum (rei)*, *quicquam in eo, in eum quicquam.* (Tisch. i. 187).

[2] Mark xiv. 57.

[3] ii. 19.

[4] John ii. 21.

[5] Sanhedrin, v. 2.

The trial of Jesus. When the witnesses had been examined, the high priest called upon Jesus to answer the serious charges brought against Him, but He was silent. The reason for this silence may be discovered in the hostility of the witnesses and the contradictory character of the evidence they had given.

The unsatisfactory results of the examination of witnesses for the prosecution had greatly embarrassed Caiphas, and now our Lord's majestic silence, which put a stop to all further proceedings along the usual lines, exasperated him. Only one course seemed open to him, viz., to question the accused, and to elicit from Him some statement that might be used against Him. Consequently Caiphas had recourse to a solemn adjuration, thus imposing upon our Lord the obligation to answer, and asked Him directly whether He was the Christ, the Son of the blessed God. The words "Son of God" must be taken in a metaphysical sense, as designating real, actual sonship of God. This interpretation is supported both by the juxtaposition of these words and the name Christ, the Anointed, i.e. the Messiah promised to, and expected by, the Jews, and also by Caiphas' statement that, by answering in the affirmative, Jesus had been guilty of blasphemy. St. Matthew, who wrote for converts from Judaism, gives our Lord's affirmative answer in the form usual among the Jews in the case of an adjuration, "Thou hast said it." St. Mark, however, who wrote for Gentile Christians, substitutes for the Jewish formula the simple equivalent "I am." Bede remarks: *Marcus posuit: ego sum, ut ostenderet, tantum valere, quod ei dicit Jesus: tu dixisti, quantum diceret: ego sum.* Thus in the presence of the assembled Sanhedrin our Saviour proclaimed most solemnly and on oath that He was the Messiah promised by God and expected by the Jews, and at the same time the true Son of God.

The testimony of the future. As the Sanhedrists refused to believe our Lord's testimony regarding Himself, He appealed, just before sentence was pronounced, triumphantly to the testimony of the future, viz., to His exaltation to the right hand of His Father, and to His second coming as judge. "Nevertheless I say to you, hereafter you shall see the Son of Man sitting on the right hand of the power of God, and coming in the clouds of heaven." There is in these words an allusion to two passages

in the Old Testament that refer to the Messiah.[1] "To sit on the right hand of the power" is a figurative expression, explained by St. Paul himself[2] as signifying a taking part in the heavenly kingdom and in the divine power that rules the universe. The coming of Christ in the clouds of heaven refers to His visible return as Judge at the end of the world. In His great eschatological discourse Christ foretold His second coming, and said: "They shall see the Son of Man coming in the clouds of heaven, with much power and majesty";[3] and when from the Mount of Olives He ascended in glory from the midst of His disciples, "a cloud received Him out of their sight,"[4] and angels assured them: "This Jesus who is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come as you have seen him going into heaven."[5] In the same way our Lord declared at His trial before the Sanhedrin that He would come again in the clouds of heaven. In the Old Testament a cloud is a symbol of the presence of God's unapproachable majesty; it is the throne of the divine Judge when He comes down to earth.[6] Therefore when Christ said that He would come in the clouds of heaven, He proclaimed in language perfectly intelligible to the Sanhedrists the truth that He will come again as judge, in the divine majesty and glory which are His by right. This second advent at the end of the world was preceded by His spiritual return at the destruction of Jerusalem. When our Saviour told the Sanhedrists that they would see all these things, He was alluding prophetically to the wonderful events connected with His death, to His resurrection and ascension, to the coming of the Holy Ghost, the wonderful growth of the Church, and the destruction of Jerusalem, — events calculated to convince even the incredulous Jews that the Jesus whom they had crucified was indeed the Son of God, and the divine Judge of mankind. St. Bede very aptly paraphrases our Lord's words as follows: *Id est, in perpetua felicitate regnaturum "probaveritis" eum et venturum cum majestate, ut judicet in aequitate, quem modo in infirmitate positum injuste judicatis.*[7]

Condemnation of Christ. When Jesus had thus borne testimony to Himself and had foretold His future glory, the high

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[1] Ps. cix. 1; Dan. vii. 13. [2] Cor. xv. 25. [3] Matthew xxiv. 30.
[4] Acts i. 9. [5] Acts i. ii.
[6] Compare Ps. xvii. 10 *seqq.*; xcvi. 2; Isa. xix. 1. [7] Comm. *ad loc.*

priest rent his garments, and pronounced our Lord guilty of blasphemy. There is no reason for thinking that Caiphas was then wearing the official robes of a high priest. The rending of garments was among the Jews a token of sorrow, and was actually prescribed by the law. The rent began at the neck and went downwards for a hand's breadth, so that part of the breast was exposed. According to the Mishna it was permissible to rend one's garments, even on the Sabbath, in token of mourning. A rent made at the death of a parent was never sewn up, but one made at the death of a relative was mended after the time of mourning, either seven or thirty days, had elapsed. In the case of Caiphas, the rending of his garments was a token of hypocritical and not of real sorrow. The charge of blasphemy was made because Jesus had unlawfully, so Caiphas alleged, claimed to possess the nature and power of God. According to the Mosaic law [1] the punishment for blasphemy was death by stoning, and consequently Caiphas and the Sanhedrin at once pronounced the death sentence. As we have already seen, their action in this respect was thoroughly illegal, since, in cases of life and death, the Jewish law permitted an acquittal to be pronounced on the day of the trial, but a death sentence was to be given not before the day after the trial.

Ill treatment of Jesus. No sooner was the sentence pronounced than Jesus, as a condemned blasphemer, excluded from the national rights of the Jews, was subjected to every form of abuse, ill treatment, and contempt. All three evangelists record this fact, but with a difference, for Matthew and Mark speak of Christ's ill treatment at the hands of the Sanhedrists, while Luke tells how the attendants in the court insulted Him. The indications given by the evangelists show what took place immediately after our Lord's condemnation at the night meeting of the Sanhedrin. He was first insulted and struck by the Sanhedrists while still in the council room; afterwards by the servants of the court in the room on the ground floor to which He was taken after sentence had been given against Him, and where He was kept under guard until the morning session, as we learn from the account of Peter's denial. Matthew and Mark record the scene in the council room, Luke alone that in

[1] Lev. xxiv. 15.

the apartment on the lower story. During this night was fulfilled everything that Isaias had prophesied concerning the Messiah.[1] To express their profound contempt and indignation[2] Sanhedrists and attendants of the court spat in our Lord's most sacred face; they buffeted Him and struck Him with their fists, and, blindfolding Him, they mocked Him, asking Him to prophesy and to say who had struck Him — so completely did they ignore the solemn prophecy which they had just heard regarding the judgment to come.

III. Peter's Denial

Matthew xxvi. 69–75

69. But Peter sat without in the court: and there came to him a servant-maid, saying: Thou also wast with Jesus the Galilean.

70. But he denied before them all, saying: I know not what thou sayest.

71. And as he went out of the gate, another maid saw him, and she said to them that were there: This man also was with Jesus of Nazareth.

72. And again he denied with an oath: That I know not the man.

73. And after a little while they came that stood by, and said to Peter: Surely thou also art one of them: for even thy speech doth discover thee.

74. Then he began to curse and to swear that he knew not the man. And immediately the cock crew.

75. And Peter remembered the word of Jesus which he had said: Before the cock crow, thou wilt deny me thrice. And going forth he wept bitterly.

Luke xxii. 54–55

54. . . . But Peter followed afar off.

55. And when they had kindled a fire in the midst of the hall, and were sitting about it, Peter was in the midst of them.

Mark xiv. 66–72

66. Now when Peter was in the court below, there cometh one of the maidservants of the high priest.

67. And when she had seen Peter warming himself, looking on Him she saith: Thou also wast with Jesus of Nazareth.

68. But he denied, saying: I neither know nor understand what thou sayest. And he went forth before the court and the cock crew

69. And again a maid servant seeing him began to say to the standers-by: This is one of them.

70. But he denied again. And after a while they that stood by said again to Peter: surely thou art one of them; for thou art also a Galilean.

71. But he began to curse and to swear, saying, I know not this man of whom you speak.

72. And immediately the cock crew again. And Peter remembered the word that Jesus had said unto him: Before the cock crow twice thou shalt thrice deny me. And he began to weep.

John xviii. 15

15. And Simon Peter followed Jesus, and so did another disciple. And that disciple was known to the high priest and went in with Jesus into the court of the high priest.

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[1] Isa. l. 6.

[2] Num. xii. 14; xxv. 9.

LUKE xxii. 56–62

56. Whom when a certain servant maid had seen sitting at the light, and had earnestly beheld him, she said: This man also was with him.

57. But he denied him, saying: Woman, I know him not.

58. And after a little while another seeing him, said: Thou art also one of them. But Peter said: O man, I am not.

59. And after the space as it were of one hour, another certain man affirmed, saying: Of a truth this man was also with him: for he is also a Galilean.

60. And Peter said: Man, I know not what thou sayest. And immediately as he was yet speaking the cock crew.

61. And the Lord turning looked on Peter. And Peter remembered the word of the Lord, as he had said: Before the cock crow thou shalt deny me thrice.

62. And Peter going out wept bitterly.

JOHN xviii. 16–18, 25–27

16. But Peter stood at the door without. The other disciple therefore who was known to the high priest, went out, and spoke to the portress, and brought in Peter.

17. The maid therefore that was portress, saith to Peter: Art not thou also one of this man's disciples? He saith: I am not.

18. Now the servants and ministers stood at a fire of coals, because it was cold, and warmed themselves. And with them was Peter, also standing, warming himself.

25. And Simon Peter was standing, and warming himself. They said therefore to him: Art not thou also one of his disciples? He denied it, and said: I am not.

26. One of the servants of the high priest (a kinsman to him whose ear Peter cut off) saith to him: Did I not see thee in the garden with him?

27. Again therefore Peter denied: and immediately the cock crew.

The relation between the various accounts of Peter's denial. According to St. John,[1] Peter denied his Master for the first time during the proceedings before Annas, and a second and third time after Christ had been taken to Caiphas.[2] St. Matthew and St. Mark, who omit the examination of Jesus by Annas, record the apostle's fall after giving an account of the proceedings of the Sanhedrin at the night session.[3]

St. Luke, who does not mention the night session, nevertheless agrees with St. Matthew and St. Mark as to the time when the denial took place, in so far as he speaks of it as occurring before the morning session of the Sanhedrin.[4] St. Matthew and St. Mark record Peter's denial as following the mockery of

[1] John xviii. 12–24. See Calmet, St. Jean, *ad loc.*, for a simple transposition of the text which removes the difficulty.

[2] verses 25, 26.

[3] Compare Matthew xxvi. 69–75 with xxvi. 57–68, and Mark xiv. 66–72 with xiv. 53–65.

[4] Compare Luke xxii. 54–62 with 63 and following verses.

Jesus, while St. Luke seems to reverse this order. The apparent discrepancy vanishes when we remember that the first two evangelists describe how the Sanhedrists insulted Christ in the council room, but St. Luke speaks of the behavior of the attendants, after He had been taken to the place of detention. We see, therefore, how the account of Peter's denial is inserted in its right position by all four evangelists. An examination of their accounts reveals several differences, with regard to which Bynaeus [1] remarks: *scriptores sacri id negotii crediderunt sibi solum dari, rem ipsam ut dicerent, non verba referrent. Quod cum alibi, tum in hac narratione observandum ubique est.* The evangelists all agree on the chief point, viz., that Peter thrice denied Christ, and the differences that exist involve no contradiction. They are easily explicable from the situation of affairs; in fact, when we unite and harmonize the four accounts, we obtain a much more vivid picture of the whole scene than we could derive from the story given by a single evangelist.

The house of Caiphas. Its position has already been discussed. We must notice that St. John's account of Peter's denial certainly justifies the assumption that Annas examined Jesus at the house of Caiphas, for although the evangelist speaks of our Lord as being sent from Annas to Caiphas, he plainly takes for granted [2] that the place in which Peter was both before and after Christ's removal was one and the same. A broad gateway, with the portress's lodge at one side, led into a spacious quadrangle, probably surrounded by a colonnade. The guards of the Temple and the servants, who had escorted Jesus hither, remained in this quadrangle during the proceedings of the Sanhedrin, so as to be ready in case of need. The night was cold, as is usual in Palestine at that time of year, and the men lighted a fire to keep themselves warm. The Sanhedrin met in a very large hall on the upper story, whence in all probability it was possible to see what went on in the quadrangle below. It was in this courtyard that Simon Peter stood, and here he denied his Lord and Master, as had been foretold. When Jesus was arrested, all the disciples fled, but soon Peter and John, the two favorite apostles, plucked up courage and followed from afar. John, being known to the high priest (or perhaps to his attendants) entered the quadrangle with the crowd that came to escort Jesus to Caiphas' house. From St. John's gospel it appears that Peter remained for a time outside the palace, and when John noticed this, he turned back, and obtained for Peter also permission to enter the courtyard: he himself seems to have left it again at once, and to have gone away.[3]

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[1] II, 6, 3.

[2] Compare John xviii. 18 and 25.

[3] ὁ ἄλλος μαθητής (compare Tisch. *ad loc.*) is almost universally believed to have been St. John, and none of the arguments against this theory seem convincing.

The first denial. According to all four evangelists the thing that led up to the denial was a remark made by a maidservant, of whom St. Mark says that she was in the high priest's service, and St. John that she was portress. St. Mark seems to indicate that Peter in his anxiety at first walked about the courtyard eagerly awaiting the end of the proceedings in the house. Afterwards he joined the men who stood warming themselves at the fire. It was then that the woman approached him, which she could easily do, since the fire was not far from the entrance gate, and the gate was probably closed during the trial. Peter had attracted her attention by wandering about the quadrangle, and now, looking closely at him, she recognized him as the man whom she had admitted at the request of John. The latter was known to her as one of the disciples of Jesus, and this fact, as well as Peter's own behavior, convinced her that he, too, was one of them. She expressed her conviction first to Peter alone,[1] and then to all the men present.[2] Peter's answer was not simply evasive, it was an emphatic denial that he had ever been in the company of Jesus, with whom he said he was not acquainted, and that therefore he could not understand what the woman meant by her remarks.[3]

The second denial. Here again there are discrepancies in the accounts given by the evangelists, but it is not difficult to reconcile them. Immediately after his first denial Peter left the place where it had occurred and went to the doorway. This probably was the passage leading from the outer gate through the house into the courtyard; it was not, as some commentators suppose, a covered court in front of the house. Here he intended to remain, apart from the servants in the quadrangle, mourning over his disloyalty and anxiously awaiting the result of his Master's trial. But he encountered another temptation, and fell for the second time. As he stood in the doorway the maid, who had spoken to him before, again pointed him out to the bystanders as a follower of Jesus,[4] and another maid corrobo-

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[1] So Matthew, Mark, and John. [2] Luke xxii. 56.

[3] Compare note on Mark xiv. 68. St. Augustine writes (Tract. 113 in Joan.): *negavit ergo ipsum Dominum, cum se negavit ejus esse discipulum.* Somewhat earlier he says: *Ecce columna firmissima ad unius aurae impulsum tota contremuit. Ubi est illa promittentis audacia et de se plurimum praefidentis?*

[4] Mark xiv. 68, 69.

rated her statement.[1] Worried in mind and cold in body, Peter returned to warm himself at the fire,[2] but here he was again pointed out, first by some man, and then by servants of the Sanhedrin,[3] as one of our Lord's disciples. At this moment Peter went so far as to swear that he was not a disciple and did not know "the man." What a contrast between Peter at Caesarea Philippi and Peter in the atrium of the high priest's house! There he avowed that Jesus was the Messiah, the Son of God;[4] here he speaks of Him as a man with whom he is wholly unacquainted; there he was enlightened by the spirit of God, here he is dominated by human respect. Peter's example shows us what disastrous effects human respect may have upon the servant of God, and how earnestly he should pray, both for his own sake and in the interests of his sacred office, to be armed against fear of men.

The third denial. St. John's account shows plainly that the third denial was uttered near the fire in the quadrangle, and the immediate cause of it was a remark made by a kinsman of Malchus, who, in support of the woman's statement that Peter was a follower of Jesus, said that he had been seen with Him in the garden. At once others joined in the discussion, and brought forward further arguments, pointing out that Peter's manner of speaking showed him to be a Galilean, and therefore probably a disciple of Jesus, who also came from Galilee. The Galilean dialect was much harsher than that of the other Jews, especially of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and the Galileans not only confused in their speech the guttural sounds, but even failed clearly to distinguish *b* and *k*. The Talmudists tell us that hence comic misunderstandings frequently resulted in the conversations between Galileans and the men of Juda. Peter then denied Jesus for the third time, adding, as Matthew and Mark tell us, curses and oaths, i.e., he called upon God to punish him if his sworn declaration that he did not know Jesus, and consequently could not be His disciple, were not true. Meantime the night session of the Sanhedrin came to an end, and Jesus was brought by the servants down from the council chamber, in the upper story, across the courtyard, to a room where He was kept under guard until the Sanhedrin met again in the morning.

[1] Matthew xxvi. 71.
[2] John xviii. 25.
[3] Luke xxii. 58.
[4] Matthew xvi. 16.

Jesus was therefore just crossing the courtyard when Peter for the third time denied Him. He turned and looked at His disloyal disciple, on whom the glance of our Lord made a deep impression, and conveyed the grace of the Master to the faithless servant to realize the enormity of his offence, and at the same time to hope for a merciful pardon.[1]

Thereupon Peter hastily quitted the palace, that he might away from the crowd weep bitterly, for St. Augustine,[2] who himself, by the aid of divine grace, rose from the depths of sin to holiness of life, assures us that solitude is the most suitable place for the "heavy task of weeping."

The time of the denials. The information given in the gospels as to the hours of Peter's denial must now be more closely examined. According to St. Mark, the cock crew (for the first time) after the first denial, and for the second time immediately after the third denial. According to St. Luke about an hour intervened between the second and the third denial. The cock-crowing mentioned by St. Mark was at the beginning and end of the period known as the *gallicinium,* which may probably be identified with the third watch of the night, in Roman reckoning, and lasted from midnight to 3 A.M. Samuel Bochart, an eminent Protestant theologian, who lived early in the seventeenth century, wrote a book called *Hierozoicon,* dealing with the animals mentioned in the Bible. In this work he says (II, 1, 17) that the cock crows first at midnight and then just before daybreak.[3] Ancient writers as a rule speak of the gallicinium as belonging to the period between midnight and dawn, but their statement as to its beginning and end are vague, and to some extent contradictory. This may be due to the fact that the cock does not begin to crow at the same hour in every season of the year, or that his crowing lasts longer at one time than at another. If we take these things into consideration while examining the occurrences of that night, we may arrive at the following conclusions with regard to the hour of the three denials: The first took place about 1 A.M., the third at 3 A.M.,

[1] Augustinus, de cons. evang. 3, 26: *Mihi videtur illa respectio divinitus facta, ut ei veniret in mentem, quoties jam negasset, et quid ei Dominus praedixisset atque ita misericorditer Domino respiciente poeniteret eum atque salubriter fleret.*

[2] Confessions, 10, 12.

[3] Compare Bynaeus, II, 1, 23.

and the second, according to St. Luke, about an hour earlier than the third. The words with which St. Matthew and St. Mark introduce their accounts of the third denial seem to indicate that a longer interval elapsed between the first and second than between the second and third denials.

The historical accuracy of the account of the cock-crowing has been questioned, because according to the Talmudists,[1] it was forbidden to keep poultry in Jerusalem and so no cocks would have been tolerated there. On the other hand, we must remember that this statement is untrustworthy, and is even contradicted by the testimony of Rabbi Jehuda ben Baba, who says that a cock was stoned to death in Jerusalem for having pecked out a child's brains. Moreover, in our Lord's time there were many Romans in Jerusalem who would not have troubled about the Jewish prohibition if it really existed. We have seen in a previous chapter[2] that there are other passages in the New Testament which prove poultry keeping to have been usual in Palestine then.

The nature and significance of Peter's denial. Peter denied his Master, first by a simple but definite statement, then by an asseveration on oath, and finally by oaths and curses intermingled. He denied having followed Jesus, having been His disciple, or even knowing Him. Some of the earlier commentators have tried to put a charitable interpretation upon the apostle's action, and to represent it in a less unfavorable light.[3] Among more recent exegetes Schegg lays stress upon the following mitigating circumstances: the fatigue and excitement of the night, the real danger of death, and the influence of an erring conscience. When we attempt to determine the character of Peter's denial, we have to remember that the threefold question did not touch the subject of Christ being the Messiah, the Son of God, but only concerned Peter as His disciple. This and this alone was what he emphatically denied; and this is what our Lord foretold in the words recorded by St. Luke:[4] "I say to thee, Peter, the cock shall not crow this day, till thou thrice deniest that thou knowest me." Therefore Peter's denial was not a falling away from the faith, but rather a failure to

[1] Mishna, Baba Kama 7, 7.
[2] Compare p. 98.
[3] St. Jerome (ad Matth. xxvi. 72) mentions some of these attempts and gives his own opinion thus: *Scio, quosdam pii affectus erga apostolum Petrum hunc locum ita interpretatos, ut dicerent, Petrum non Deum negasse sed hominem et esse sensum: nescio hominem, quia scio Deum. Hoc quam frivolum sit, prudens lector intelliget: sic defendunt apostolum ut Deum mendacii reum faciant.*
[4] xxii. 34.

practise his faith; it was an offence against the love and loyalty due to God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ.[1]

Peter after his fall is often compared with a tree that has preserved its trunk and roots after its leaves have been stripped off by a hurricane. By divine dispensation beneficial results followed even this terrible fall on part of the apostle.[2]

IV. The Morning Session of the Sanhedrin

Matthew xxvii. 1, 2

1. And when morning was come all the chief priests and ancients of the people took counsel against Jesus that they might put him to death.

2. And they brought him bound and delivered him to Pontius Pilate the governor.

Mark xv. 1

1. And straightway in the morning the chief priests holding a consultation with the ancients and the scribes and the whole council, binding Jesus, led him away, and delivered him to Pilate.

Luke xxii. 66–71; xxiii. 1

66. And as soon as it was day the ancients of the people, and the chief priests and scribes came together, and they brought him into their council saying: If thou be the Christ tell us.

67. And he said to them: If I shall tell you, you will not believe me:

68. And if I shall also ask you, you will not answer me, nor let me go.

69. But hereafter the son of man shall be sitting on the right hand of the power of God.

70. Then said they all: Art thou then the Son of God? Who said: You say that I am.

71. And they said: What need we any farther testimony? For we ourselves have heard it from his own mouth.

xxiii. 1. And the whole multitude of them rising up, led him to Pilate.

At the night meeting of the Sanhedrin, recorded by St. Matthew and St. Mark, Jesus was declared by the high priest to be worthy of death. Early the next morning (Good Friday) the Sanhedrin met again, and this session is mentioned by all

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[1] So Tyr. and others.

[2] Jansenius ad Matth. xxvi. 75: *Permissa sunt haec divinitus in Petro, ut elideretur ejus praesumtio* (Basil.), *ut disceret infirmis parcere, ubi suam novisset infirmitatem* (Basil.) *ut in ecclesiae principe etiam ab iteratis peccatis remedium poenitentiae conderetur* (Leo), *ut nemo auderet de sua virtute confidere, quando mutabilitatis periculum nec Petrus potuit evadere.*

three synoptic writers. Jesus was submitted to a new examination, and when, as during the night session, He solemnly declared Himself to be the Son of God, sentence of death was formally pronounced. Then followed a discussion regarding the manner in which He should be handed over to the Roman procurator, and His transference to the Gentile tribunal.[1]

Harmonistic Question. The night and morning sessions of the Sanhedrin are generally distinguished, but scholars are not agreed as to what was discussed and determined in each. St. Augustine thinks that only the witnesses were examined at night, and that our Lord was not examined and pronounced guilty until the morning; that the events which took place at night are recorded by St. Matthew and St. Mark, and that what occurred in the morning is contained in St. Luke's account.[2]

Other commentators think that the Sanhedrin met a second time only for the purpose of deciding how Jesus should be handed over to the Roman tribunal. A third opinion, that has not, however, many supporters,[3] is that there was only one meeting of the Sandehrin, viz., on the morning after our Lord's arrest, and that the accounts given by St. Matthew and St. Mark refer to it by anticipation.

With regard to these various attempts at elucidation we may say in general terms that even a cursory glance at the reports given by the three evangelists of the night and morning assemblies of the Sanhedrin shows all such harmonistic attempts to be artificial and to have very little probability about them. Against the opinions mentioned above we may say definitely: (1) Matthew and Mark draw a clear distinction between the night and the morning sessions of the Sanhedrin, and emphasize the fact that the latter was a meeting of the whole council. (2) Our Lord's examination in the morning not only differs in several respects from that held in the night, but the manner in which it began seems to indicate that the results of the night session, recorded by St. Matthew and St. Mark, were known and taken as its basis. (3) The ill treatment to which Christ was subjected at the close of the night session seems to indicate that He had already been pronounced worthy of death, and St. Luke, too, tells us that He was insulted and struck before the morning session. (4) It is impossible to maintain that Christ was condemned once only, namely, at the morning meeting of the Sanhedrin, because in that case the condemnation could not have been pronounced until between 5 and 6 A.M., whereas, as we have seen in considering Peter's denial, our Lord was condemned before the end of the Gallicinium, i.e., at the latest between 3 and 4 A.M.[4]

Time, place, and purpose of the morning session. St. Luke says that the Sanhedrists assembled as soon as it was day, and

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[1] Corn. à Lap., Knabenb., and others.

[2] De cons. evang. 3, 27: *nocte autem intelligimus per falsos testes actum esse cum Domino, quod breviter commemoraverunt Matthaeus et Marcus, Lucas tacuit, qui enarravit, quae circa mane sunt gesta.*

[3] Mald. in Matt. xxvi. 63: *credendum est, Matthaeum factum illud per anticipationem narravisse.* Baron. Ann. ad a. 34, n. 72.

[4] So also Bynaeus, II, 7, 2; *ante finitum gallicinium.*

St. Matthew and St. Mark both speak of the "morning." The Jews generally held their council meetings after the morning sacrifice, but while we might assume that on this occasion, too, the Sanhedrin met about 7 A.M., the subsequent course of events, however, and the fact that the Sanhedrists were anxious to conclude the proceedings as soon as possible, render it highly probable that the meeting began at daybreak and was over by about five o'clock. St. Mark's use of the word "straightway" suggests that the meeting was held at a very early hour. All three evangelists describe it as important; St. Matthew says that all the chief priests and ancients of the people were present; St. Luke enumerates all three classes of members of the council, and St. Mark speaks of a consultation with the whole council. The circumstance that St. Matthew and St. Mark do not refer to the morning session as held in a different place from the night session is enough to prove that the house of Caiphas was again the scene of the proceedings, and St. John[1] states explicitly that Jesus was led from Caiphas to Pontius Pilate. A comparison of the accounts given by the three evangelists, a consideration of the ordinary procedure at Jewish trials, and especially the attitude of the Jews toward the Roman procurator, will enable us to discover the purpose of this second meeting. Its primary object was to invest the proceedings against Jesus with some semblance of legality, since the Jewish law forbade criminals to be tried at night, and a condemnation to death could not legally be pronounced until the day after the trial. As a matter of fact, in our Lord's case His trial and condemnation occurred on the same day, because the Jews reckoned the day from evening to evening. In the opinion of the Jews the sentence pronounced against Jesus would be considered more thoroughly justified if He were heard twice, and twice persisted in making what they considered the blasphemous assertion that He was the true Son of God.[2]

Finally, the Sanhedrists wished to take counsel as to the best means of gaining access to the Roman procurator, so as to secure

[1] John xviii. 28.

[2] Jansenius: *Quia plenum erat concilium ex omnibus judicibus et quia alterum nocturnum fuerat, quod jure habebatur illegitimum et ut confidentius eum condemnarent omnium suffragio, si in eadem confessione persisteret, eamque confirmaret, eum interrogaverunt.* This seems to remove the psychological difficulties which stand in the way of the adoption of this interpretation.

the crucifixion of Jesus, whom they had already condemned to death.

Proceedings at the morning session of the Sanhedrin. As soon as the Sanhedrin had assembled, Jesus was brought in. Since the close of the night session He had been under guard in a room on the ground floor. No witnesses were called, notwithstanding the fact that the examination of witnesses formed a most essential part in the criminal procedure of the Jews. The reason for this omission is obvious: it was impossible to call witnesses for the prosecution after their lamentable failure at the previous session, and no one intended to call witnesses for the defence, because all were resolved upon the death of Jesus. Consequently the high priest, speaking as president of the Sanhedrin, at once addressed Jesus, saying, "If thou be the Christ — as thou didst assert at our night session — tell us." The Jews pretended they were ready to believe in Jesus if they heard from His own lips that He was the Messiah. Regarding their hypocrisy St. Bede remarks briefly and to the point: *Non veritatem desiderabant, sed calumniam praeparabant.* This preliminary question, recorded by St. Luke, unmistakably refers to our Lord's testimony at the night session. Now He answered simply, "If I shall tell you, you will not believe me." The events of the previous night were evidence enough of the truth of this solemn reproach: Jesus had declared most solemnly that He was the Son of God, and the Sanhedrin replied to this assertion by charging Him with blasphemy. The attitude of the Sanhedrists toward our Lord's work and teaching had shown most plainly that they absolutely refused to accept His testimony to Himself, although it was confirmed by miracles. In fact this was admitted frankly at the council meeting held after the raising of Lazarus.[1]

Although Jesus left the question unanswered, He brought with the dignity peculiar to Him the serious charge against the Sanhedrin, the supreme court of justice in Israel, that if He were to question its members as to their unprecedented action against Him they would not be able to justify it, but nevertheless they would not release Him. According to the testimony of history Israel was then at the turning point of its destiny; although by

[1] John xi. 47 *seqq.*

word and deed Jesus had proved Himself to be the Messiah of the Jews, they condemned Him because they desired His death. On account of the murder of the Messiah, future events were destined to speak in so loud and emphatic a manner that the Jews would be unable either to turn a deaf ear to them or to misunderstand their significance. As at the night session, Christ impressed the truth upon them in the words of the Psalmist, and as the meaning of the quotation had been made quite clear to them during their proceedings at night, the Sanhedrists now pretended to deduce from it the question, "Art thou then the the Son of God?" And our Lord answered, using the Hebrew idiom, "You say that I am," which is equivalent to "I am." He answered thus in spite of the unbelief of those who asked the question, because He desired again to testify before the highest tribunal of the Jews to the fundamental truth of Christianity that Jesus is the Son of God; because, furthermore, He wished to reveal to the Jews the importance and bearing of the signs of the time to follow. Our merciful Saviour, even at the moment of His condemnation, left nothing undone that might open the eyes of His murderers and induce their conversion. His testimony supplied the Sanhedrists with the excuse for pronouncing with all due formality the death sentence, and Jesus, being thus condemned, was sent fettered to the procurator, Pontius Pilate.

Ever since the deposition of Archelaus, in 6 A.D., the province of Judea had been governed directly by the Romans, while the other provinces of Palestine still retained their native rulers. The Roman governor was officially called the procurator (Greek ἐπίτροπος; in the New Testament ἡγεμών = *praeses*). He was answerable to the praetor of the imperial province of Syria, although in many respects he was free and independent. He had soldiery at his disposal, and carried on the government and the administration of justice, except in so far as these were left to the Jewish Sanhedrin. Death sentences pronounced by the council of the Jews required the procurator's confirmation to render them legal and enable them to be carried out. The Roman procurators did not live at Jerusalem, but at Caesarea, formerly called Stratonis Turris, a town on the coast, but they came to Jerusalem for the chief Jewish festivals, in order to keep order in the city. Pontius Pilate was the fifth Roman procurator of Judea, and held office for ten years, from 26 to 37 (36?) A.D. He was notorious for his cruelty, violence, and unscrupulousness, and St. Luke records an atrocity of which he was guilty.[1] Philo says of him that he was unyielding, unscrupulous, obstinate, ready to take bribes, and inclined to acts of violence and arrogance.[2]

[1] Luke xiii. 1.

[2] Legat. ad Caj. c. 38.

At last he was deprived of his office by L. Vitellius, praetor of Syria, and was sent to Rome to answer the charges brought against him; he arrived there shortly after the death of the Emperor Tiberius (March 16th, 37 A.D.). Eusebius[1] says that he committed suicide during Caligula's reign; it is reported that this emperor had banished him to Vienne in Gaul, and this would seem to indicate that the investigation had gone against him. The apocryphal gospels contain extraordinary stories about Pilate, and especially about the time after his death.[2]

V. The Traitor's Death

Matthew xxvii. 3–10

3. Then Judas, who betrayed him, seeing that he was condemned, repenting himself, brought back the thirty pieces of silver to the chief priests and ancients.

4. Saying: I have sinned, in betraying innocent blood. But they said: What is that to us? look thou to it.

5. And casting down the pieces of silver in the temple, he departed: and went and hanged himself with an halter.

6. But the chief priests having taken the pieces of silver, said: It is not lawful to put them into the corbona, because it is the price of blood.

7. And after they had consulted together, they bought with them the potter's field, to be a burying-place for strangers.

8. For this cause that field was called haceldama, that is, the field of blood, even to this day.

9. Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by Jeremias the prophet, saying: And they took the thirty pieces of silver, the price of him that was prized, whom they prized of the children of Israel.

10. And they gave them unto the potter's field, as the Lord appointed to me.

St. Matthew alone records the tragic death of Judas, the traitor, who played the chief part at our Lord's seizure, and then went with the crowd from the Mount of Olives to the house of Caiphas, the high priest, where he was able to watch the proceedings in the Sanhedrin. The evangelist connects closely the handing over of Jesus to Pontius Pilate with Judas' knowledge of his Master's condemnation, and in so doing he does not merely record events in their chronological order, but indicates the intimate relation existing between the action of the Jews and the behavior of Judas. From the fact that Jesus was taken bound to the procurator Judas inferred (=ἰδών) that our Saviour had been condemned to death by the Jews, and that now it only remained for the death sentence to be confirmed and executed. This inference was obvious, because Judas was well

[1] H. E. 2 7.

[2] Compare Tisch. Evangelia apocrypha, 210–388.

aware of the hostility entertained by the Sanhedrin against Jesus. It has frequently been suggested that these introductory words would lead us to conclude that Judas had neither desired nor expected our Lord's death; but we shall have occasion to refer to this theory again when discussing his repentance. The proceedings in the Sanhedrin made the traitor regret what he had done, and caused him to approach the Sanhedrists, to offer the return of the money paid him for his treachery, and when his offer was scornfully rejected, he threw down the coins in the Temple.

Opinions differ regarding the place where Judas approached the Sanhedrists; whether it was in the house of Caiphas, or, later on, in the Temple.[1] The latter view seems preferable, and we may assume that while some of the Sanhedrists accompanied our Lord to the Praetorium, in order to support the charge against Him, others went to the Temple, which was close by. There they may have had to prepare the morning sacrifice,[2] or perhaps they wished to remain in the neighborhood of the law court, and await the issue of events.[3]

The repentance of Judas. St. Matthew says that Judas "repenting himself" brought back the thirty pieces of silver to the chief priests and ancients, saying, "I have sinned in betraying innocent blood." He perceived the enormity of his offence, acknowledged it publicly, and felt contrition, which he displayed by not wishing to retain the reward of his treachery, and actually refusing to keep it. Judas did not feign repentance, but really felt it, and yet it was not the true repentance that makes for salvation; it did not proceed from faith in God, nor was it coupled with hope of forgiveness. On the subject of Judas' repentance St. Thomas Aquinas says: *non fuit vera poenitentia, habuit autem aliquid poenitentiae, quia poenitentia debet esse media inter spem et timorem.* According to Estius[4] the repentance of Judas was unavailing, because it did not proceed from love of God, and was not connected with hope of pardon. We should learn from Judas how difficult it is to repent adequately after grievous sin.

Judas' confession of guilt after our Lord's condemnation has led many commentators to infer that the traitor had neither intended nor expected

[1] St. Thomas, Estius, and Jansenius hold, the latter two somewhat doubtfully, that it was in the Temple.
[2] Jansenius: . . . *sive potius nonnullis in templo obeuntibus ministeria.*
[3] St. Thomas: *aliqui in templo remanserunt.*
[4] Tir. and others.

such a result to follow from his action. They think that, unless this view be adopted, his behavior after Christ was sentenced is psychologically inexplicable. There are, however, weighty arguments against this theory. In the first place Judas well knew the feeling of the Sanhedrin toward Jesus, and was aware that their hatred of Him far surpassed even their aversion for the Roman authorities; moreover, he had many times heard his Master foretell that He would be handed over by the Sanhedrin to the Gentiles, to die on the cross in Jerusalem,[1] and, lastly, from the words in which Jesus announced His approaching betrayal[2] we may fairly infer that Judas had agreed with the Sanhedrin to hand Him over to them for execution. The difficulty in accounting for Judas' behavior, after our Lord had been condemned and taken to Pilate, will be solved, if we bring the axiom — the truth of which is proved by his history — *corruptio optimi pessima* to bear upon two remarks in St. John's gospel.[3] By his call to be an apostle Judas had received special grace, but even in the company of his divine Master he gave way to feelings of avarice, and so became less and less susceptible to Christ's influence, and this insusceptibility increased in proportion to the grace offered and rejected. Further causes of his downfall were the instigations of the devil, who urged him to sin and at the same time blinded him to its enormity and probable results. It was not until the betrayal had been effected and its consequences were plainly revealed that he realized the full horror of his sin.[4] He perceived its intense malice, and, having no hold on religion or morality, he determined to kill himself. The psychological arguments against this theory lose weight when we remember that there are unhappily many who act as Judas did. In his case we must assume that the devil, who had first led him to betray his Master, afterwards drove him to despair.

Behavior of the Sanhedrin toward Judas. The Sanhedrists showed no sympathy with their confederate's distress of mind, but answered coldly when he appealed to them, "What is that to us? look thou to it." It was enough for them that he had done his part and contributed toward the attainment of their end; then they discarded him as of no further use, and left him to his fate. History testifies that a similar experience falls to the lot of all who allow themselves to be employed as instruments of sin.[5] The contempt of the Sanhedrists is in keeping with their craftiness and malice at the council meeting, and no doubt contributed to plunge Judas into despair.

The suicide of Judas. Despair caused Judas, in the first instance, to throw down in the Temple the money, the price of his

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[1] See Matthew xx. 18, 19.
[2] Compare Matthew xxvi. 21, 23, with v. 24.
[3] John xiii. 2 and 27.
[4] Commentators (e.g., Knabenb.) refer to a remark made by Tacitus (Ann. 14, 10) in his account of the murder of Nero's mother: *perfecto demum scelere magnitudo ejus intellecta est.*
[5] Tirinus: *En praemium eorum, qui in aliorum gratiam peccant: ridentur, contemnuntur, deseruntur.*

treachery. According to one reading of the Greek text it seems as though he even penetrated to the Holy of Holies, where only priests might go, and flung down the coins there; another reading suggests that he stood in the forecourt of the priests, and cast the money thence into the sanctuary. Thus he got rid of the silver, but not of the burden of guilt that drove him to his death. His dreadful act is recorded by the evangelists in a few brief words: "He went and hanged himself." This statement can easily be reconciled with that in the Acts (viii. 18): "He . . . being hanged, burst asunder in the midst." He seems to have hanged himself with a halter to a tree, and either the rope, or the branch to which it was fastened, broke, so that his body fell down and burst open.

The use made of the traitor's reward. The Sanhedrists thought it wrong to put blood-money into the treasury, basing their opinion, as is generally assumed, upon a passage in Deuteronomy, which forbids ill-gotten gains to be offered in the house of God.[1] Consequently they spent it in buying from a potter a field intending it to be a burial place for Jews who came from abroad and died at Jerusalem. The name Haceldama, field of blood, served to remind subsequent generations of the crime committed by the Sanhedrin against the Messiah. The field lay to the south of Jerusalem in the valley of Hinnom, and white potter's clay is still obtained in the neighborhood. At the present time there stands in the field a building about 30 feet long, 19 or 20 feet wide, and 32 feet high, which formerly was the entrance to the rock tombs. St. Matthew points out that the purchase of the potter's field as a burial place with the reward of Judas' treachery fulfilled a prophecy of Jeremias: "And they took the thirty pieces of silver, the price of him that was prized,

[1] From St. Peter's words in Acts i. 18: *hic possedit agrum de mercede iniquitatis*, we must not conclude that Judas had actually bought the piece of land; it is merely by poetical phrase that Peter ascribes to Judas himself the purchase made with the money of Judas. The parallel passage in St. Matthew's gospel requires this interpretation, as well as St. Peter's own statement; for the time which elapsed between the reception of the money by Judas and his death was too short for any purchase of land to have taken place. The Jewish law provided that the money be restored to the donor, and if he insisted on giving it, that he should be induced to spend it for something for the public weal. This explains the apparent discrepancy between Matthew's account and that of Acts i. 18. By a fiction of law the money was still considered to be Judas', and to have been applied by him to the purchase of the potter's field.

whom they prized of the children of Israel. And they gave them unto the potter's field, as the Lord appointed to me." "Him that was prized" is an allusion to Christ, whom the high priests, acting as representatives of the chosen people, valued at 30 silver shekels, since they promised and actually paid this sum for the delivery of the Messiah into their hands. Great difficulties have arisen from the fact that the words quoted by St. Matthew do not occur in Jeremias, although there is in Zacharias a passage that is generally regarded as the original of the quotation, if rendered freely and not literally. Many attempts have been made to solve the problem, and Bynaeus[1] refers to and discusses fully all such attempts made before his time. All elucidations should be rejected which are based upon the assumption that the authenticity of the words *per Jeremiam* is doubtful, and that the original reading was *per prophetam* or *per Zachariam prophetam*. As early a writer as St. Augustine[2] laid down the correct principles of criticism which should lead us to reject such an assumption. There is such strong documentary evidence in support of the reading *per Jeremiam prophetam* that the other readings can hardly be taken seriously into consideration; moreover, it is quite easy to see why *Jeremiam* should have been altered to *Zachariam,* but impossible to account for a change from *Zachariam* to *Jeremiam,* or for the insertion of the name *Jeremiam,* if the original reading was simply *per prophetam.*

The passage in Zacharias that agrees most closely with the quotation given by St. Matthew is: "And I said to them, If it be good in your eyes, bring hither my wages; and if not, be quiet. And they weighed for my wages thirty pieces of silver. And the Lord said to me: Cast it to the statuary (A. V. potter), a handsome price, that I was prized at by them. And I took the thirty pieces of silver, and I cast them into the house of the Lord, to the statuary" (Zach. xi. 12, 13). These words are addressed by God to the Messiah, the Shepherd of Israel. The idea that the discontent and disobedience of His flock would cause Him to relinquish His office, and leave the unruly and ungrateful flock to its fate, is expressed by the demand on part of the Shepherd for payment, and by the breaking of his pastoral staff. The wages, thirty pieces of silver, were, as has already been said, the legal penalty for the killing of a slave, and are therefore called ironically a "handsome price." By God's command the Shepherd took this money into the house of the Lord, and cast it to the statuary, or potter. The concluding words of the prophecy are obscure, and were incomprehensible until fulfilled in the circumstances attending the death of Christ, the

[1] II. 8, 22–32.

[2] De cons. evang. 3, 28–31.

Good Shepherd, in the fullest meaning of the expression.[1] The variant readings of Zach. xi. 13 seem to have been known to the author of the Gospel. St. Augustine attempts to explain the difficulty in the following way: The reference to Jeremias instead of Zacharias was due to a forgetfulness on part of St. Matthew, and the Holy Ghost permitted the mistake because all the prophets proclaimed the word of God. Another special reason for the mention of Jeremias was that this prophet actually speaks of the purchase of a field.[2] St. Augustine is followed by St. Bede, and the *glossa ordinaria* on the passage are to the same effect. St. Jerome discusses the question both in his commentary on St. Matthew and in his *breviarium in Psalm 77*. In both places he says that he could not find the quotation in Jeremias, but discovered it in Zacharias; in the *breviarium* he goes on to say that the reference to Jeremias is a mistake (*error*), but in the commentary he writes: *legi nuper in quodam hebraico volumine, quod Nazarenae sectae mihi Hebraeus obtulit, Jeremiae apocryphum in quo haec ad verbum scripta reperi.* A similar statement is made by Origen, who writes: *inter ea, quae scripta sunt, non invenitur hoc Jeremias alicubi prophetasse in libris suis, qui vel in ecclesiis leguntur, vel apud Hebraeos referuntur; si quis autem potest scire, ostendat, ubi sit scriptum. Suspicor aut errorem esse scripturae et pro Zacharia positum Jeremiam, aut esse aliquam secretam Jeremiae scripturam, in qua scribitur.* John Lightfoot, an Anglican theologian and noted Orientalist (1602–1675), makes another attempt to account for the apparent mistake.[3] He suggests that Jeremias may have been mentioned, because his book occupies the first place in the older collections of the prophetical books, so that he seems to stand for all the prophets collectively. More recent commentators are as a rule inclined to think that St. Matthew made a mistake, or that by some accident the name of Jeremias was at a very early period substituted for that of Zacharias.[4] Our own opinion is that the quotation is either from a lost work of Jeremias, or from a lost portion of the extant book of that prophet. It is quite possible that a book by Jeremias may be lost, for many writers think also that two, or even three, of St. Paul's epistles have not come down to us. The assumption that the passage quoted by St. Matthew really did occur in a work by Jeremias is borne out by the fact that passages very suggestive of it actually do occur in his extant book.[5] In the text quoted the evangelist lays stress upon prophetic utterances in the Old Testament, according to which the Messiah, the Shepherd of Israel, was to be sold for thirty pieces of silver, and that the sum was expended upon the purchase of a potter's field.

VI. The First Trial Before Pilate[6]

Matthew xxvii. 11	Mark xv. 2
11. And Jesus stood before the governor, and the governor asked	2. And Pilate asked him: Art thou the king of the Jews? But

[1] John x. 1.
[2] Jer. xxxii. 7–9.
[3] Horae hebraicae in Matth. xxvii. 9.
[4] So Laurent, 224.
[5] Jer. xvii. 1 *seqq.*; xix. 1 *seqq.*
[6] Order of the gospel narrative: (1) John xviii. 28–32; (2) Luke xxiii. 2; (3) John xviii. 33–36; (4) John xviii. 37–38; Matthew xxvii. 11; Mark xv. 2; Luke xxiii. 3, 4; (5) Luke xxiii. 5; (6) Matthew xxvii. 12–14; Mark xv. 3–5; (7) Luke xxiii. 6, 7 (compare Bynaeus, III, 1, 2–35).

MATTHEW xxvii. 12–14

him, saying: Art thou the king of the Jews? Jesus saith to him: Thou sayest it.

12. And when he was accused by the chief priests and ancients, he answered nothing.

13. Then Pilate saith to him: Dost not thou hear how great testimonies they allege against thee?

14. And he answered him to never a word: so that the governor wondered exceedingly.

LUKE xxiii. 2–7

2. And they began to accuse him, saying: We have found this man perverting our nation, and forbidding to give tribute to Cesar, and saying that he is Christ the king.

3. And Pilate asked him, saying: Art thou the king of the Jews? But he answering said, Thou sayest it.

4. And Pilate said to the chief priests and to the multitudes: I find no cause in this man.

5. But they were more earnest, saying: He stirreth up the people, teaching throughout all Judea, beginning from Galilee to this place.

6. But Pilate hearing Galilee, asked if the man were of Galilee.

7. And when he understood that he was of Herod's jurisdiction, he sent him away to Herod, who was also himself at Jerusalem in those days.

MARK xv. 3–5

he answering saith to him: Thou sayest it.

3. And the chief priests accused him in many things.

4. And Pilate again asked him, saying: Answerest thou nothing? behold in how many things they accuse thee.

5. But Jesus still answered nothing: so that Pilate wondered.

JOHN xviii. 28–36

28. Then they led Jesus from Caiphas to the governor's hall. And it was morning: and they went not into the hall, that they might not be defiled, but that they might eat the pasch.

29. Pilate therefore went out to them and said: What accusation bring you against this man?

30. They answered and said to him: If he were not a malefactor, we would not have delivered him up to thee.

31. Pilate therefore said to them: Take him you, and judge him, according to your law. The Jews therefore said to him: It is not lawful for us to put any man to death.

32. That the word of Jesus might be fulfilled which he said, signifying what death he should die.

33. Pilate therefore went into the hall again and called Jesus, and said to him: Art thou the king of the Jews?

34. Jesus answered: Sayest thou this thing of thyself or have others told it thee of me?

35. Pilate answered: Am I a Jew? Thy own nation and the chief priests have delivered thee up to me: what hast thou done?

36. Jesus answered: My kingdom is not of this world. If my kingdom were of this world, my servants would certainly strive that I should not be delivered to the Jews: but now my kingdom is not from hence.

JOHN xviii. 37–38

37. Pilate therefore said to him: Art thou a king then? Jesus answered: Thou sayest, that I am a king. For this was I born, and for this came I into the world, that I should give testimony to the truth. Every one that is of the truth, heareth my voice.

38. Pilate saith to him: What is truth? And when he said this he went out again to the Jews, and saith to them: I find no cause in him.

After His condemnation by the Sanhedrin our Lord was taken bound from the house of Caiphas to the Praetorium, and brought before the Roman procurator Pontius Pilate.

St. John says that this occurred in the morning, and we may assume that Christ was brought before the Gentile tribunal about 6 A.M. It was the custom among the Romans to begin judicial proceedings very early, and as Pilate was no doubt well informed regarding all that had taken place during the night, he would certainly consider the prevalent feeling in the city, and begin the trial without delay.

The situation of the Praetorium. The Praetorium, whither Jesus was taken, escorted by Sanhedrists, was in Jerusalem the official residence occupied by the procurator on his visits from Caesarea to the capital. The palaces of former rulers were, as a rule, used as the official residences of the Roman governors in the provinces. Allusions in Josephus[1] and Philo[2] have led modern commentators to think that the Roman procurator on this, as on other visits to Jerusalem, stayed in Herod's palace in the northwestern part of the upper city. Josephus gives a description of its splendor, its towers, its magnificent banqueting halls and other splendidly appointed rooms, as well as of its beautiful gardens.[3] There seems, however, no sufficient reason for doubting the tradition, dating back to the fourth century, according to which the fortress known as Antonia was identified with the Praetorium, and was actually so called.

The fortress called Antonia dominated the whole of the Temple, and was situated at the northwest corner of the Temple hill, separated from the Temple itself by the Temple court. Herod the Great had rebuilt the old fortress of the Asmonean kings, which was called Baris, and had transformed it into a spacious and magnificent fortress, to which he gave the name Antonia, in honor of his benefactor Antonius.[4] At the present time some barracks have been built on the site. Two flights of steps led from the court of the Temple to a raised portico of the fortress, and it was from here that sentence was pronounced, the actual court of justice adjoining this portico.

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[1] B. J. ii. 14, 8.
[2] Legatio ad Caj. 38.
[3] Ant. xv. 9, 3; B. J. v. 4, 4.
[4] Joseph. Ant. xviii. 4, 3; B. J. v. 5, 8.

The charge brought against Jesus. Jesus was taken to the Praetorium either by the servants of the Sanhedrin or, more probably, by Roman soldiers,[1] while the Sanhedrists remained outside, that they might through association with Gentiles not be rendered technically unclean, as this would debar them from eating the Pasch. According to the Pharisees' interpretation of the law, intercourse with Gentiles defiled a Jew, and consequently strict Jews avoided going to Gentile countries, or at least on their return were careful to shake off the dust of such places from their feet.

St. John says that the Jews entered not into the hall, that they might not be defiled, but that they might eat the Pasch. This statement has led many to infer that the Jews did not eat the Paschal lamb until the evening of the day on which our Lord was crucified, and that therefore either Christ kept the feast a day earlier, or the Jews had put off the celebration of the festival to the day after the date appointed by the law. In so far as this theory is based upon the expression "to eat the Pasch," it is not convincing. The word "Pasch" was used to designate not only the Paschal lamb, but also the peace offering, the Chagigah, that had to be killed and eaten during the festival. The Jews' reason for not entering the Praetorium seems to be connected with eating the peace offering, rather than with the Paschal supper, in the strict sense of the word. The uncleanness caused by contact with Gentiles belonged to the class of defilements that lasted only until nightfall, and could be removed at sunset by washing. Thus, even though they had entered Pilate's house, the Sanhedrists, provided they washed at sunset, would not have been prevented by the law from taking part in the Paschal supper, for it did not begin until nightfall. St. John's statement seems rather to refer to some meal that would be eaten in the daytime, while the defilement still lasted, and this was, no doubt, the eating of the peace offering. Bynaeus discusses the subject thoroughly,[2] and gives it as his opinion that St. John the Evangelist had in mind *non agnum, sed paschale sacrificium* (i.e., *Chagigam*) *quod "de die" comedebatur, atque ab immundo comedi erat grande nefas.*

The accounts given by the evangelists of Christ's first trial by Pilate may be described in general terms thus: St. John describes the course of the proceedings most fully; St. Luke records with precision the charges brought against our Lord, and the more and more decided attitude adopted by the Sanhedrists toward the procurator; St. Matthew and St. Mark dwell chiefly on the closing scene of the first trial. Pilate was a proud

[1] Bynaeus, III, 1, 2.

[2] Bynaeus, III, 1, 2–4. On the other hand Knabenb. remarks *ad loc.* that even if the word πάσχα can be used in the wider sense, it cannot be shown and is most improbable that the phrase πάσχα ψαγεῖν ever bears the wider signification.

man and likely to be offended by the Sanhedrists' avoidance of his house, but he was a high official of the Romans, who from motives of policy respected the religious scruples of subject nations,[1] and so he subordinated his own personal feelings to political considerations and came out to speak to the Jews. Roman judicial proceedings were carried on verbally and in public, and he acted in conformity with the usual custom when he asked what charge the Jews brought against Jesus. In an angry tone they replied, "If he were not a malefactor, we would not have delivered him up to thee." The Sanhedrists were probably annoyed because they regarded Pilate's question as an insult, and feared that he might challenge their authority. They clung to the theory that Pilate had nothing to do with the case beyond confirming and carrying out the sentence.[2] Pilate answered briefly, in a commanding tone, "Take him and judge him according to your law." The procurator was carefully guarding his rights, and his refusal to deal with the case, while it has been variously interpreted,[3] was probably the result of the Jews' refusal to give him information regarding the accusation against Jesus.[4] Pilate showed thus his good will toward our Lord and his indignation at the action of the Jews. Langen thinks that Pilate concluded from their behavior that the matter was one with which the Jewish courts were competent to deal. It is, however, very improbable that the procurator was still unaware of the Sanhedrin's decision, and therefore the first hypothesis seems the more probable, especially as it gains force from the subsequent action of the Sanhedrists.

Pilate's energetic behavior made an impression up the stubborn members of the Sanhedrin, who now gave him an answer, and said, "It is not lawful for us to put any man to death." These words present considerable difficulty, as they are closely connected with the question of the powers of the Sanhedrin at the time of Christ. The expression "any man" sounds quite general and seems to admit of no limitation, and the Sanhedrists' remark, taken literally, apparently implies that at that time the

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[1] Bynaeus, III, 1, 5.

[2] Leo, Sermo 3 in pass.: *ipsum esse executorem sententiae, non autem arbitrum causae volunt.*

[3] Bynaeus, III, 1, 9–14, states the various interpretations.

[4] Tol.: *particula ergo causam indicat, cur Pilatus hoc responderit nempe quia illi crimen et accusationem proferre et manifestare nolebant.*

Sanhedrin could pronounce a death sentence, but had no authority to carry out such a sentence. A death sentence pronounced in a Jewish court required confirmation by a Roman procurator before it became valid and capable of execution. Moreover, the execution was usually performed by officials of the Roman government. In deciding whether a death sentence pronounced by a Jewish court was to be confirmed or not, the procurator, however, had to be guided by the rules of Jewish, not of Roman law. The restriction of the power of the Sanhedrin dated probably from the incorporation of Judea into the Roman Empire, in the year 6 A.D.,[1] though others think that it was of later origin, not earlier than forty years before the destruction of the Temple.[2] What the Sanhedrists intended to convey to Pilate was: "We have found Jesus guilty of an offence involving the death penalty, and have condemned him to die; it only remains for you to confirm and carry out our sentence."

Many commentators maintain that under the Roman dominion the Sanhedrin still had the right to execute death sentences, and that therefore some limitation or secondary intention must be assigned to the declaration made by the Sanhedrists to Pilate. These exegetes suppose the Jews to have meant that it was unlawful for them to put any one to death during the festival.[3]

Others suggest that the Sanhedrists wished Jesus to be regarded as a political offender, and in penalty for high treason be crucified, for crucifixion was a Roman, not a Jewish form of punishment. Luke xx. 20 shows that to deliver Jesus to the authority and power of the governor was always

[1] So Scaliger and others. Felten (I, 297–299) is of opinion that we cannot regard as historically correct the statement of the Talmudists to the effect that forty years before the destruction of the Temple the Jews were deprived of the right to give judgment in matters of life and death. Josephus Flavius writes (*Wars*, II, 8, 1) that, Archelaus being deposed, Koponius was sent to Judea, now a Roman province, who had received from the emperor *'εξουσίαν μέχρι τδυ κτείνειν.* Again Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 9, 1), speaking of the condemnation and martyrdom of James, the brother of Christ, by the high priest Ananus in the absence of any procurator, relates how some informed Albinus, the appointed procurator, when on his journey to take possession of his procuratorship, that it was not lawful for Ananus to assemble a Sanhedrin without his consent, whereupon Albinus wrote in anger to Ananus and threatened that he would bring him to punishment for what he had done. From this we may conclude that the *jus vitae mortisque* was with the emperor, and without the consent of the procurator the Sanhedrin could not legally assemble and act in such a juridical cause.

[2] Talmudists, Isaac Casaubonus.

[3] Thus St. Aug. Hom. in Joann. 114, 4: *Si malefactor est cur non licet? Nonne lex eis praecepit, ne malefactoribus, praesertim (qualem istum putabant) a suo Deo seductoribus parcant? Sed intelligendum est, eos dixisse, non sibi licere interficere quenquam propter diei festivitatem, quem celebrare jam coeperant.* So also Chrys. Hom. in Joann. 83; Bede *ad loc.;* Baron. Ann. ad a. 34 n., 76.

the endeavor of the chief priests and scribes. It is assumed, also, that the Sanhedrists had the malicious intention of casting the whole odium of the proceedings upon the Romans.[1] Against this explanation it should be noticed that the Sanhedrists' words are quite general, and seem to preclude any such limitation. The remark added by the evangelist probably means: By divine ordinance it came to pass that the Sanhedrin was deprived of power to execute a death sentence, in order to indicate what form of death Jesus would suffer. Crucifixion was, as has already been said, a Roman and not a Jewish punishment. If the other interpretation of the Sanhedrists' words be accepted, another meaning must be assigned to St. John's remark. Bynaeus[2] states it thus: *divina providentia sic direxit Judaeorum animos, ut Jesum accusarent illius criminis, quod ad tribunal pertinebat Romani praesidis ac plecti saepe solebat supplicio crucis.*

After Pilate had shown by his firm and decided attitude that he would not deal with the case at all unless a definite charge were made against Jesus, the Jews were forced to abandon their defiant manner, and to bring forward a plainly worded charge in place of vague accusations. Only St. Luke records it, and according to him there were three points under which our Lord was accused of seditious and treasonable acts: He was said to stir up the people, to dissuade them from paying tribute, and to call Himself King, thus setting Himself up in direct opposition to the emperor. The Sanhedrists were careful to appeal to their own experience and said "we have found," because after the turn taken by the proceedings in the Sanhedrin they could not undertake to produce witnesses against Jesus. In their cunning and malice they represented as a political offence the solemn testimony borne in the Sanhedrin by Jesus, that He was Christ, the Son of God, and accused Him of calling Himself a king. Two motives led them to act thus, — they wished to compel the procurator to take proceedings against Jesus, and also they desired Him to be condemned to death by crucifixion. The extreme malice of the Sanhedrists reveals itself in their imputing to our Lord Himself their own mistaken ideas of the Messiah, although His entire ministry had tended to prove these ideas erroneous, and so they declared that He did what they had vainly expected Him to do, and for failing to do of which they persecuted Him so cruelly.

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[1] Tol.: *malitiose isti judicium refutant, ut Christum crucifigant per Pilatum, id enim mortis genus non erat secundum legem, nec a Judaeis unquam observatum, Romanorum erat, ideoque de tempore exclusant, ut Pilatum inducant ad crucifigendum et simul turbae concitationem a se avertant.*

[2] III, 1, 15.

The Roman governor could not without endangering his own position ignore a definite accusation of this kind. He had every reason closely to investigate the matter, for serious doubts were just then felt in Rome regarding the loyalty of the Jews, and Emperor Tiberius was prone to suspect treachery. Consequently Pilate proceeded to examine Jesus. Only St. John[1] gives a detailed account of this examination; the synoptic evangelists[2] merely record the testimony borne by our Lord to Himself.

The examination of Jesus took place, as may be inferred from St. John's narrative, in the judgment hall of the Praetorium, and not in the open courtyard in front of the palace, where the conversation between Pilate and the Sanhedrists had occurred. After hearing the accusation, the procurator went into the hall and sent for Jesus, who had meantime been kept standing at the back of the hall, in order to question Him. Some commentators[3] assume that our Lord stood facing His enemies when the charge was brought against Him, and that He was then summoned by Pilate to enter the Praetorium for the purpose of examination. It must be admitted that this hypothesis is more in keeping with the ordinary Roman procedure, which required prosecutor and accused to appear at the same time before the tribunal, but on the other hand, for a procurator to leave the court was a concession to the Jews, and we need not therefore assume that Jesus also went out with Pilate.

Pilate asked our Lord a direct question: "Art thou the king of the Jews?" He alluded only to this one point because it was the most important, and also, in the sense given it by the Jews, comprised the two other charges.[4] The question was neither ironical nor expressive of scornful pity for our Lord in His deep humiliation; it was asked because Pilate, as judge, wished to ascertain the true facts of the case.[5] Hence the emphasis is not on the words "art thou," but on "the king of the Jews."

The answer given by Jesus to Pilate's question. Before replying, our Lord asked Pilate a question: "Sayest thou this thing of thyself, or have others told it thee of me?" Christ wished to elicit the statement that the question, which summed up all the charges against Him, had been prompted by the Jews, and He desired to have an opportunity of proclaiming before the Roman tribunal the true nature of the Messianic kingdom,

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[1] xviii. 33–38.
[2] Matthew xxvii. 11; Mark xv. 2; Luke xxiii. 3.
[3] Bynaeus, III, 1, 21; Laurent and others.
[4] Tol.: *ex hoc enim reliqua duo dependebant.*
[5] Bynaeus, III, 1, 21, *crimen cognituras ut judex.*

which was so completely misrepresented by the Sanhedrists. The audacity of the question irritated the haughty Roman, who nevertheless answered, though in an angry tone, that he had only spoken at the suggestion of the accusers and especially of the high priests. At the same time he asked our Lord bluntly what He had done to justify such an accusation, or what other crime He had committed deserving of punishment, if the charge of calling Himself King of the Jews were false: *quid aliud forte fecisset, unde tradi judici dignus esset.*[1]

The important moment had come when Jesus was to give testimony before the Gentile tribunal, and to show that the accusations brought against Him by the Sanhedrin were devoid of all foundation. St. Augustine introduces his discussion of this testimony with the words: *audite ergo Judaei et gentes, audi circumcisio et praeputium, audite omnia regna: non impedio dominationem vestram in hoc mundo. Regnum meum non est de hoc mundo. Nolite metuere metu vanissimo.*[2] Jesus mentioned three points to Pilate: the origin and nature of His Kingdom, His dignity as King, and His task as the Messiah. The first and third points are recorded only by St. John, the second by all four evangelists.

The Kingdom of Christ. Most solemnly did Jesus declare to Pilate that He was the founder of a kingdom, which He three times spoke of as "My Kingdom." It belonged not to the world in origin nor in constitution, and as evidence of this fact He pointed out that He, the founder of the kingdom, was deprived of all human assistance. Christ's kingdom is, as the synoptic evangelists call it, a kingdom of God, a heavenly kingdom; and the kingdom of the Messiah is heavenly in three respects: it is heavenly in its origin, having been founded by the Son of God, who came down from heaven; it is heavenly in its possession, for, according to St. John's testimony, it contains and supplies the fullness of grace and truth; and it is heavenly in its aims, since it effects the salvation of its members. The treasure of everlasting salvation furnished by the Messianic kingdom is mentioned frequently in St. John's gospel, but the expression "Kingdom of God" occurs only twice.[3]

Jesus had already taught the Jews that the Kingdom of God

[1] Aug. Tract in Joann. 115, 1. [2] Aug. *l. c.* 115, 2.
[3] John iii. 3, 5.

would not reveal itself in outward splendor, like an earthly kingdom, but would manifest itself by means of a force penetrating and influencing the hearts of men. He had illustrated the same truth by comparing the Messianic kingdom with leaven.[1] Eusebius tells us that when our Saviour's relatives were questioned by Emperor Domitian regarding Christ and His Kingdom, they replied that it was not a secular, earthly kingdom, but heavenly and angelic, which would appear in the fullness of time, when Christ would come in glory to judge the living and the dead, and to requite every man according to his works.[2] On hearing this, it is said that Domitian simply despised the speakers, and inflicted no punishment upon them. Many commentators refer to our Lord's testimony in this and the next verse the words addressed by St. Paul to Timothy:[3] "I charge thee before God, who quickeneth all things, and before Christ Jesus, who gave testimony under Pontius Pilate, a good confession."

When our Lord spoke of His Kingdom, Pilate retorted, "Art thou a king then?" These words are regarded by some as an expression of astonishment, by others as contemptuous, but it is best to consider them the manifestation of the profound impression made by Christ's speech upon His judge. Jesus answered this question in the affirmative, as we have already pointed out; the words "thou sayest it" were a Hebrew form of affirmation. Having thus acknowledged Himself before Pilate to be the Messiah, the King of the Jews, our Lord went on to explain solemnly the purpose of His incarnation and of His public ministry, viz., to bear testimony to the truth. The words "I was born" should not be understood as referring to the eternal procession of the Son of God from the substance of the Father, but as relating to His incarnation.[4]

The purpose of His incarnation and public ministry was stated briefly and comprehensively by our Lord in the words "give testimony to the truth," i.e., to proclaim the complete revelation of God, the tidings of salvation, and to testify to its

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[1] Matthew xiii. 33.
[2] H. E. 3, 20.
[3] 1 Tim. vi. 13.
[4] Aug. Hom. in Joann. 115, 4: *manifestum est, eum temporalem suam nativitatem hic commemorasse, qua incarnatus venit in mundum, non illam sine initio, qua Deus erat, per quem pater condidit mundum.*

truth. Christ's whole activity is His testimony to the truth of His doctrine; everything bore witness to it, — His miracles, the fulfillment of His prophecies, His Passion, Death, Resurrection, and Ascension, and the history of His Church. Because by His deeds He testified to the truth of His doctrine, He frequently spoke of it as His testimony.[1]

This doctrine has power to deliver mankind from the bondage to the devil and to bestow upon them the liberty of the children of God,[2] but it has this effect only in the case of those who are "of the truth," i.e., who are inwardly susceptible to it, accept it with humble faith, and make it the rule guiding all their thoughts, feelings, actions, and general behavior, those, in short, who have a firm faith in Christ's teaching and practise it in their daily life. The verb "to hear" should be understood here, as elsewhere in St. John's gospel, in the sense: to hear and receive with faith and to carry out obediently.[3]

Our Lord's magnificent testimony to Himself caused Pilate to ask, "What is truth?" Very different opinions have been expressed concerning this question;[4] some commentators, e.g., St. Augustine, St. John Chrysostom, Theophylact, and St. Thomas, regard it as an expression of real desire for truth; while others, e.g., Toletus, Maier, Bisping, Schegg, and Schanz, think it is the contemptuous utterance of a worldly man without any appreciation or comprehension of truth, who regarded Jesus merely as a religious fanatic. Our knowledge of the procurator's character renders the latter view the more probable, although it need not absolutely exclude the former, as Pilate showed several times during the trial that he was capable of better feelings.

Renewed discussion between Pilate and the Sanhedrists. The question "What is truth?" marked the close of our Lord's first appearance before Pilate. Our Saviour had declared that He was the founder of a heavenly kingdom, that He had come down from heaven to be the King of that kingdom, and that the reason why He had come to this world was to make known the tidings of salvation and bear witness to their truth. There

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[1] John iii. 11, 32.
[2] John viii. 21–59.
[3] Aug. *l. c.*: *audit utique interioribus auribus, id est, obaudit voci meae.*
[4] Those of the earlier commentators are given by Bynaeus, III, 1, 29.

is a good deal of evidence, especially in St. John's gospel, to show that our Lord's dignified personality and majestic words made a profound and even overpowering impression upon those who came in contact with Him,[1] and we naturally inquire what impression He made upon the Roman governor. The answer is furnished in the account given by the evangelists of the renewed discussion between Pilate and the Sanhedrists. Pilate went out of the hall to address the Jews, and Jesus followed him.[2] The result of the examination was announced by the procurator in words recorded by both St. Luke and St. John: "I find no cause in this man." This was an authoritative and emphatic declaration that there was no justification for the charge of turbulence and treachery brought by the Jews against Jesus.

This acquittal was followed by a discussion with the Jews, recorded only by the synoptic evangelists. In their hatred and fury the high priests would not acknowledge a failure of their efforts, and they exerted themselves to the utmost in order to attain their end. If we compare St. Mark's and St. Luke's[3] accounts, we see that they recklessly accused Jesus of all sorts of offences, and represented Him as a very dangerous agitator, whose activity threatened to disturb the public peace of the whole country. Pilate called upon our Lord to answer this serious charge, but, to the procurator's amazement, He gave no reply. An answer would have been useless in the face of such accusers, who would be satisfied with nothing short of His death, as well as unnecessary in regard to Pilate, who had just pronounced our Lord to be perfectly innocent. The charges were only passionate repetitions of previous accusations, and the procurator was convinced that these were groundless. The majestic calm with which Jesus faced the base slanders of His adversaries aroused the astonishment of the proud Roman; Pilate was in an unpleasant situation, and in order to extricate himself from it he sent Jesus to Herod.

A harmonistic note will not be out of place here. The accounts of our Lord's first trial before Pilate are arranged in the following order: (1) John xviii. 38; Luke xxiii. 4; (2) Luke xxiii. 5; (3) Matthew xxvii. 12–14;

[1] Compare John i. 41, 46; ii. 13 *seqq.*; iv. 29.
[2] Compare Matthew xxvii. 13; Mark xv. 4.
[3] Mark xv. 3; Luke xxiii. 5.

Mark xv. 3–5; (4) Luke xxiii. 6, 7. This arrangement is not, however, universally accepted by commentators; for instance, Bynaeus[1] reverses the sections numbered (2) and (3) respectively, and some later scholars follow him in this point.

VII. Christ Before Herod

Luke xxiii. 8–12

8. And Herod seeing Jesus, was very glad, for he was desirous of a long time to see him, because he had heard many things of him; and he hoped to see some sign wrought by him.

9. And he questioned him in many words. But he answered him nothing.

10. And the chief priests and the scribes stood by, earnestly accusing him.

11. And Herod with his army set him at nought; and mocked him, putting on him a white garment, and sent him back to Pilate.

12. And Herod and Pilate were made friends that same day; for before they were enemies one to another.

St. Luke alone relates how Jesus was sent by Pilate to Herod, who mocked him. This Herod was the son of Herod the Great. In the New Testament he is called simply Herod, but Josephus speaks of him as Antipas, and to distinguish him from his father he is generally called Herod Antipas, or Herod the tetrarch, which title he assumed when, on his father's death, he became ruler of Galilee and Peraea.[2] He resided at Tiberias, a splendid town he had built on the western shore of the lake of Tiberias; after a reign of forty-two years (from 4 B.C. to 39 A.D.) he was deposed by Caligula and sent into exile at Lugdunum (Lyons) in Gaul.[3] We find in the New Testament indications of Herod's cruelty and cunning. He was at that moment in Jerusalem for the occasion of the festival, and Pilate, on hearing that Jesus came from Galilee, sent him to Herod, the tetrarch of that district.

Various answers are given to the question where Herod stayed during his temporary residence in Jerusalem. It is not in itself an important matter. According to a tradition dating back to the fourteenth century, Herod's house, whither Jesus was then taken, stood in the new part of the city, on the hill called Bezetha, northwest of the fortress Antonia, and between the Damascus Gate and Herod's Gate. According to some authorities Herod lived in the so-called Asmonean Palace near the Xystus, on the northeast corner of Mount Sion, directly opposite the Antonia. Others think that he occupied the magnificent palace built in the upper city by Herod the Great, which Josephus describes as a masterpiece of architecture, surpassing even

[1] III, 1, 32–35.

[2] Compare Matthew ii. 22; Luke ix. 17.

[3] Jos. Ant. xviii. 7.

the Temple in splendor.[1] The verb used by St. Luke in verse 7 implies that Jesus was sent *up* from Pilate to Herod, indicating that Herod's house was on a higher level than the Antonia. A study of the gospel narrative enables us to see why Pilate sent our Lord to Herod: he wished to extricate himself from a painful dilemma, if not completely, at least for a time; also he desired to show courtesy to Herod, and, eventually, to obtain information from the ruler of Galilee regarding our Lord's work in that part of Palestine.

It was still early in the morning when Jesus was sent to Herod; He was guarded by Roman soldiers, and the Sanhedrists, who accused Him, accompanied them. The tetrarch received Him at once in one of the palace halls, which were famous for their size and artistic decoration. Herod was attended by the military retinue with which he had come to Jerusalem. Although our Lord's Messianic labors had lasted three full years, and had been carried on chiefly in Galilee and Peraea, districts under Herod's control, the tetrarch had never seen Him; in fact it was only in the second year of the public ministry, after the sending forth of the apostles, that Herod had heard much about Jesus. The reason of this remarkable ignorance on Herod's part was probably that he was often away from Galilee, and his attention was devoted to the wars with Aretas, king of Arabia, whose wrath he had incurred by dismissing his wife, a daughter of Aretas, in order to marry Herodias.[2] Moreover, Herod was a self-indulgent man, unlikely to trouble himself much about religious questions. He had, however, for a long time been anxious to see Jesus, and was glad to have an opportunity of gratifying his curiosity. He was too frivolous to care about the salvation of his soul, but, as St. Luke says, he hoped that Jesus would work some miracles in his presence, and so provide him with entertainment. Herod seems to have felt no doubt that our Lord, who had worked so many miracles before the common people in Galilee, would be all the more ready to do the same before him, the tetrarch, because it would be important for one in so dangerous a position to secure the goodwill of the ruler of his country. But the worldly-wise Herod was disappointed, for our Lord, far from working miracles in his presence, gave not even an answer to his repeated questions, or to the angry accusations of the Sanhedrists. The evangelist does not tell us what questions Herod asked, but we may infer from the circumstances

[1] B. J. v. 4. 4.

[2] Baronius.

the subjects to which they referred. Herod must have questioned Jesus about His ministry in Galilee and its purpose, and probably also about the charge brought against Him by the Sanhedrin. The anger displayed by the Sanhedrists in Herod's presence was partly due to his present and partly to his former attitude toward Jesus. The fact that Herod received Him in state displeased them, the joy that Herod professed at seeing Jesus made them uneasy, and the apparent sympathy with Jesus and His work, that they fancied could be discovered in the numerous questions asked, forced them to fear an undesired result from the proceedings. This fear seemed all the more reasonable because they knew that Herod's conscience had reproached him for his treatment of John the Baptist, and therefore he had been unwilling to take any action against Jesus, and had even tried, through the Pharisees, to induce him to leave the country.[1] All these were in the eyes of the Sanhedrists sufficient reasons for regarding their lack of success hitherto as a serious matter, and for doing their utmost to gain a hearing for their accusations against Jesus. He, however, neither tried to win Herod's favor, nor did He fear the malice of His enemies, and was silent both when questioned by the former and when accused by the latter. This silence meant a condemnation of Herod, whose crafty wiles Jesus had previously disclosed, and also of the Sanhedrists, of whose malice He had had ample experience during the last few hours. Herod felt the reproach conveyed in our Lord's silence, and took his revenge by ordering a white garment to be put on Him in mockery, before all his retinue. The general meaning of this action is clear — Herod wished to ridicule Jesus for claiming to be a king. It is uncertain whether Herod chose this form of mockery with reference to the Jewish ritual, which required priests to wear white linen garments, or whether he was thinking of the white toga worn by Romans when seeking election to office. In reality, the white garment, which Herod intended as a mockery of the kingship of the Messiah, was a symbol of our Lord's innocence and royal dignity. At the same time Herod wished to show that he considered Jesus a harmless enthusiast. There is nothing in the text to prove whether our Lord was still wearing the white garment when He was sent back to Pilate.

[1] Compare Luke ix. 7; xiii. 31.

The evangelist concludes his account of the incident with the remark that Herod and Pilate were made friends that same day, for before they had been enemies one to another.[1] The cause of their previous enmity may have been an occurrence mentioned by St. Luke.[2] Pilate had ordered some Galileans to be killed in the holy place at Jerusalem while a sacrifice was being offered. The Galileans were notoriously a quarrelsome race, and were feared in consequence. These particular persons had probably raised a disturbance, which had been brutally suppressed by the Roman soldiery.

VIII. The Condemnation of Christ and the Release of Barabbas

Matthew xxvii. 15–21

15. Now upon the solemn day the governor was accustomed to release to the people one prisoner, whom they would.

16. And he had then a notorious prisoner, that was called Barabbas.

17. They therefore being gathered together, Pilate said, Whom will you that I release to you, Barabbas, or Jesus that is called Christ?

18. For he knew that for envy they had delivered him.

19. And as he was sitting in the place of judgment, his wife sent to him, saying: Have thou nothing to do with that just man. For I have suffered many things this day in a dream because of him.

20. But the chief priests and ancients persuaded the people, that they should ask Barabbas, and make Jesus away.

21. And the governor answering, said to them: Whether will you of the two to be released unto you? But they said, Barabbas.

Mark xv. 6–13

6. Now on the festival day he was wont to release unto them one of the prisoners, whomsoever they demanded.

7. And there was one called Barabbas, who was put in prison with some seditious men, who in the sedition had committed murder.

8. And when the multitude was come up, they began to desire that he would do, as he had ever done unto them.

9. And Pilate answered them, and said: Will you that I release to you the king of the Jews?

10. For he knew that the chief priests had delivered him up out of envy.

11. But the chief priests moved the people, that he should rather release Barabbas to them.

12. And Pilate again answering, saith to them: What will you then that I do to the king of the Jews?

13. But they again cried out, Crucify him.

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[1] Bede *ad loc.*: *Hoc nefandissimum Herodis et Pilati foedus, quod in occidendo Christo pepigerunt, hactenus eorum velut haereditario jure successores custodiunt, quando gentiles et Judaei sicut genere et religione, ita etiam mente dissidentes, in christianis tamen persequendis, Christique in eis fide perimenda consentiunt.*

[2] xiii. 1.

MATTHEW xxvii. 22–26

22. Pilate saith to them: What shall I do with Jesus that is called Christ? They say all: Let him be crucified.

23. The governor said to them, Why, what evil hath he done? But they cried out the more, saying, Let him be crucified.

24. And Pilate seeing that he prevailed nothing, but that rather a tumult was made, taking water washed his hands before the people, saying: I am innocent of the blood of this just man; look you to it.

25. And the whole people answering, said: His blood be upon us and upon our children.

26. Then he released to them Barabbas.

MARK xv. 14–15

14. And Pilate saith to them: Why, what evil hath he done? But they cried out the more: Crucify him.

15. And so Pilate being willing to satisfy the people, released to them Barabbas.

LUKE xxiii. 13–22

13. And Pilate calling together the chief priests, and the magistrates, and the people,

14. Said to them: You have presented unto me this man, as one that perverteth the people, and behold I, having examined him before you, find no cause in this man in those things wherein you accuse him.

15. No, nor Herod neither. For I sent you to him, and behold nothing worthy of death is done to him.

16. I will chastise him therefore, and release him.

17. Now of necessity he was to release unto them one upon the feast-day.

18. But the whole multitude together cried out, saying: Away with this man, and release unto us Barabbas:

19. Who for a certain sedition made in the city, and for a murder, was cast into prison.

20. And Pilate again spoke to them, desiring to release Jesus.

21. But they cried again, saying, Crucify him, Crucify him.

22. And he said to them the third time: Why, what evil hath this man

JOHN xviii. 39–40

39. But you have a custom that I should release one unto you at the pasch; will you therefore that I release unto you the king of the Jews?

40. Then cried they all again, saying: Not this man, but Barabbas. Now Barabbas was a robber.

LUKE xxiii. 23–25

done? I find no cause of death in him; I will chastise him therefore, and let him go.

23. But they were instant with loud voices requiring that he might be crucified; and their voices prevailed.

24. And Pilate gave sentence that it should be as they required.

25. And he released unto them him who for murder and sedition had been cast into prison, whom they had desired.

After Herod had sent Jesus back to the Praetorium, Pilate resumed the trial, which ended with the release of Barabbas and the condemnation of our Lord. St. Luke gives a very exact account of the proceedings, and from his report we learn what actually occurred. St. Matthew alone records the dream of Pilate's wife, while St. John says concerning the whole episode merely that the Jews demanded the release of Barabbas.

The evangelists say nothing as to the scene of our Lord's second appearance before Pilate, but it undoubtedly took place in the open court in front of the fortress called Antonia, opposite the Temple, for the reason, which had prevented the Jews from entering the praetor's palace in the morning, still existed. The present transaction differed from the former, inasmuch as this time, besides the Sanhedrists, who were prosecuting our Lord, a crowd of people had assembled, who took an active part in the course of events. St. Luke speaks of chief-priests, magistrates, and people as present. The "magistrates" were members of the Sanhedrin, and belonged to the class of scribes and ancients. It is quite plain from the gospel narrative that the people were present from the beginning of the proceedings, and were not summoned only after Pilate's discussion with the Sanhedrists was at an end.

Pilate's brief account of the previous proceedings. Our Saviour was sent back by Herod to Pilate, who took Him again into the court of justice within the Praetorium, and then went out to speak to the Sanhedrists, who had also returned from Herod's palace, and to the crowd that had assembled in the meantime. Pilate invited both classes to approach, and then addressed them, giving first a short outline of the course and results of the previous trial, regarding which St. Luke alone gives us any details. Pilate declared that the charge brought against Jesus of having stirred up the people to rebellion had

been investigated by him in the presence of the Sanhedrists, and had proved quite groundless.

Pilate's statement that he had examined Jesus before the Sanhedrists does not contradict what was said on the subject of our Lord's first examination before the procurator. We saw then that Pilate first heard what the Sanhedrists had to say, and for this purpose went out in front of the Praetorium, while Jesus remained in the court of justice; then he questioned Jesus as to the accusation made against him, and finally took Him out to the Sanhedrists, communicated to them the result of the examination, listened to their renewed charges, and tried in vain to induce our Lord to answer them. It is obvious, therefore, that the procurator had no reason to fear contradiction, when he asserted that he had examined Jesus in the presence of the Sanhedrists.

Pilate went on to say that Jesus had also been pronounced innocent by Herod, who was qualified to say whether, as the Sanhedrists claimed, Jesus had done anything wrong in Galilee. There can be no doubt that Pilate's subordinates had given him full information as to what occurred in Herod's house.[1] At the same time we may assume that he rightly regarded Herod's mockery of Jesus, and the fact that he sent Him back to the Praetorium, as equivalent to a declaration of our Lord's innocence.

Pilate's unsuccessful attempts to save Jesus. The testimony to our Lord's innocence that Herod had given, and his own previous statement to the Sanhedrists, ought to have guided Pilate in his subsequent action, and have enabled him, if necessary, to withstand successfully any further accusations on the part of the Jews. But he wasted these advantages, and through weakness and human respect took a false step, of which the enemies of Christ were not slow to avail themselves, and thus put the procurator still more in the wrong. His first attempt to save Jesus was questionable and unsuccessful. St. Luke tells us that he proposed to the Sanhedrists to chastise our Lord, and then, if they were willing, to let Him go.

The evangelist does not tell us how the Jews received Pilate's proposal, but the course of events shows that it was rejected. It is improbable that the discussion concerning it was interrupted by the interference of the crowd. It is certain that Pilate did not intend to put Jesus to death, was in fact resolved to effect

[1] This remark of Pilate's enables us to form some idea of the questions which Herod had asked Jesus (Luke xxiii. 9).

His release, but he committed a grave offence against justice in his attempt to do so. He showed himself ready to forsake the firm basis of justice, and thus played into the hands of our Lord's implacable enemies.

Pilate's second attempt to save Jesus. Having been unsuccessful in pleading with the Sanhedrists, Pilate made another attempt to save Jesus, and, as all the evangelists record, appealed to the people. According to St. Mark, the crowd approached the procurator with the request that he would, as usual, release a prisoner during the festival, and in reply Pilate asked a very definite question,[1] which St. Matthew gives in the fullest form: "Whom will you that I release to you, Barabbas, or Jesus that is called Christ?" The other three evangelists do not say that Pilate offered the people the choice between Jesus and Barabbas, but that he did so can easily be inferred from their narratives. When they tell us that Pilate proposed to release Jesus, they are true to facts, because the procurator was really aiming at the release of our Lord, not at that of Barabbas. He called Jesus "Christ, the King of the Jews," and used the name seriously, not contemptuously, for he wished to induce the people to ask for the release of Jesus.

It is a debated point whether the custom of setting free a prisoner at the Pasch was of Jewish or Roman origin. Since, however, the Pasch commemorated the deliverance of the Jews from the bondage in Egypt, and since St. John represents Pilate as calling it a Jewish custom, we must assume that it was such.[2] Against this some commentators, ancient as well as modern, think that the release of a prisoner was a concession made to the Jews by the Romans, as such acts of mercy were usual at Roman festivals, especially at *lectisternia,* i.e., festivals when banquets were prepared for the gods, whereas apart from the gospels there is no trace of any such custom among the Jews.[3] A prisoner was not released, as some commentators assume, at all the chief Jewish festivals, but only once in each year, at the Pasch.

Pilate offered the Jews the choice between Christ, their Messiah, and a notorious criminal named Barabbas, a highway robber, who had been imprisoned because he had raised an uproar in Jerusalem and during the same had committed murder.

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[1] Bynaeus III, 3, 6, 7; Jansenius, however, writes: *dixit Pilatus praeveniens populi postulationem.*

[2] Mald., Jansenius, and others.

[3] Hugo Grotius, Schegg, Bisping, Reischl; Bynaeus (III, 3, 3) is uncertain which view to adopt.

The name Barabbas — there is not much evidence in support of the spelling Barrabas or Barrabbas — signifies, etymologically, "son of their father" or "son of their teacher." There is a tradition that Barabbas was only a patronymic, and that his full name was Jesus Barabbas. It is not improbable that the original reading of Matthew xxvi. 17 was: Jesu bar Abba (*vide* Bisping). Then the question of Pilate was: Ἰησοῦν βαραββᾶν; ἢ Ἰησοῦν τὸν λεγόμενον Χριστόν. St. Jerome sees in the name an allusion to the devil, the father of the Jews, whose children they apparently declared themselves to be when they rejected their Messiah, and desired Barabbas in His stead.[1] According to St. Matthew and St. Mark, Pilate referred the matter to the people, being aware that the Sanhedrists were motived by envy, and he hoped to bring wholesome pressure to bear upon them, if he could show that the majority of the people were favorably disposed toward Jesus, as many of them owed Him a great debt of gratitude. Pilate thought that he could secure the release of Jesus by appealing to the people and offering them the choice between a notorious criminal and an acknowledged benefactor.[2] Schegg suggests that just then Barabbas was the only criminal in prison at Jerusalem not actually under condemnation, and therefore Pilate had no one else to offer as an alternative to Christ. This seems, however, unlikely, nor is it easy to see how a still uncondemned criminal could have been pardoned. There is a far more probable statement in a manuscript of the Acts of Pilate,[3] according to which the murderer Barabbas was not the only prisoner but one of many then in captivity at Jerusalem.

The dream of Pilate's wife. Pilate's proposal took the people and the Sanhedrists by surprise, and caused an interruption in the proceedings. Just at this moment a significant warning was brought to the procurator from his wife, who sent a message containing the words recorded by St. Matthew: "Have nothing to do with that just man [i.e., do him no harm], for I have suffered many things this day in a dream because of him."

At an earlier period Roman governors had to leave their wives behind when they went to their provinces, but toward the close of the reign of Augustus it became usual for the wife to accompany her husband.[4] The apocryphal Acts of Pilate contain an account of the message sent by his wife, and also further information regarding this very remarkable woman. According to some manuscripts of the book, Pilate himself said that his wife's name was Procla or Procula,[5] and she is frequently mentioned by later authors as Claudia Procula. We learn from the same authority that Pilate declared his wife to be a proselyte, well known to the Jews, and with no leaning toward paganism, but rather agreeing with the accusers of

[1] Jer. in Ps. cviii.: *nolunt habere regem Jesum, habeant regem Barabbam, qui interpretatur filius patris, h. e. diaboli.* Compare John viii. 14.

[2] Jansenius, on Matthew xxvii. 17: *restringit populum ad duos tantum, unum de industria selectum facinorosissimum, ne subesset aliqua misericordiae causa, alterum innocentissimum, ut cogeretur ipsum eligere.*

[3] Tischendorf, Evang. apocr. 241.

[4] Ulpian, De officio procons. et legat. 4, 2, gives the reason for the original regulation: *ut, si quid uxores eorum, qui ad officia proficiscuntur, deliquerint, ab ipsis ratio et vindicta exigatur.*

[5] Tisch. Evang. apocr. 223, 343.

Christ in their profession of Judaism.[1] Another manuscript states how Pilate went on to say that his wife, though a Gentile (*pagana*), had built many synagogues for the Jews. That the procurator's wife was a proselyte seems quite likely, as, according to the testimony of the Acts of the Apostles[2] and of the Jewish historian Flavius Josephus, many aristocratic Gentile women of religious disposition tended to adopt Judaism, because the pagan religions were becoming more and more corrupt, and less capable of satisfying their religious aspirations.[3]

The dream of Pilate's wife is referred by some to natural causes, by others to supernatural influences. From the psychological point of view the occurrence of an alarming dream can easily be accounted for in the case of a woman who had taken great interest in the personality and teaching of Jesus, and whose thoughts for some days had been much occupied with Him, because of the excitement aroused in the city by His instructions and discussions. She had probably heard that the Sanhedrin had caused Him to be arrested and condemned during the night, and assumed that her husband, who had gone early to preside over some judicial proceedings, might be on the point of pronouncing sentence of death against Jesus. This line of reasoning may be quite correct, but in view of the exceptional nature of the case, we may safely follow the great majority of commentators and regard the dream as due to some supernatural influence. When Pilate, in addressing the Jews, referred to his wife's dream, they, according to the Acts of Pilate, ascribed it to witchcraft.[4] Some of the older commentators suppose that the dream was due to the action of the devil, who, by means of the intervention of the procurator's wife, aimed at frustrating the accomplishment of the work of redemption.[5]

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[1] The exact words are: *οἶδατο, ὅτι ἡ γυνή μου θεοσεβής ἐστιν καὶ μᾶλλον Ἰουδαΐζει σὺν ὑμῖν.*

[2] Compare Acts xiii. 16, 50; xvi. 14; xvii. 12.

[3] Ant. xviii. 3, 5; Orig. (Comm. in Matthew, n. 122) believes the report that Pilate's wife was a Christian to be well grounded. Compare Nicephorus Cal. 1, 30. The so-called Chronicle of Dexter (compare Jerome, de vir. ill. c. 132) identifies Pilate's wife with Claudia, a Christian mentioned in 2 Tim. iv. 21 (compare Migne, P. L. 31, 70). In some Greek monologies her name occurs as that of a saint on October 25th, and it is found in the Aethiopian calendar on June 25th (19th).

[4] *Nonne diximus, quia magus* (*sc.* Jesus)? *ecce somniorum phantasma misit ad uxorem tuam.*

[5] Bede, *ad loc.: Hac vice, non ante, sed intellexit diabolus, per Christi mortem nudandum et spolia humani generis sive in mundo sive apud tartaros amissurum: et ideo satagebat per mulierem, per quam spolia mortis*

As, however, it seems best to adopt the opinion of the great majority of exegetes, both ancient and modern, and to ascribe the dream of the procurator's wife to divine inspiration, we may see in her message a heaven-sent testimony to our Lord's innocence, and a solemn declaration that He was just, in the fullest sense of the word. But this heaven-sent testimony to the innocence of Jesus did not cause the proceedings to turn in His favor. Such of the people as were well disposed toward Him were influenced by the Sanhedrists, who worked on the crowd for their own ends. We can see from St. Matthew's narrative[1] that, while Pilate was speaking to his wife's messengers the members of the Sanhedrin began, both personally and through others, to stir up the people against Jesus, and St. Mark shows how successful they were, for he says that they "moved" the people. After dismissing the messengers, Pilate again addressed the Jews, and repeated his offer to release either Jesus or Barabbas, and now the crowd was in complete agreement with the Sanhedrists, and, as St. Luke tells us, all united in asking for Barabbas. Pilate asked the Jews, "What shall I do then with Jesus that is called Christ?" and it is plain from St. Luke that his intention again was to find some excuse for releasing our Lord. His intention was good, but it was dangerous to ask such a question, as thereby he subordinated his own authority as judge to the demands of the Jews, who were in a state of intense excitement and filled with hatred. All that custom entitled them to claim was the release of a prisoner, and in his attempt to propitiate the Jews, Pilate obviously took the risk of doing Jesus a great injustice.[2] Indeed, he was destined to see at once the evil result of his lack of firmness, and, by disregarding the rules of judicial procedure, he gave the angry people the opportunity of demanding the crucifixion of Christ. Equally dangerous was the further question, "Why, what evil hath he done?" Pilate himself, as the judge, and not the excited populace, was the one to answer this question. The question robbed

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invaserat, Christum eripere de manibus Judaeorum, ne per illius mortem ipse amitteret mortis imperium. Also Rabanus in the Catena aurea and St. Anselm. Reference is frequently made to St. Ignatius, Ep. ad Phil., c. 5, but I have failed to discover any such statement in this epistle.

[1] Compare xxvii. 20 with 19 and 21.

[2] Jansenius: *Cum populo gratificare decrevisset, ad praecipitium summae iniquitatis deductus est.*

Jesus of the protection of the law, and exposed Him to the reckless fury of His worst enemies, and, as all the evangelists tell us, with a loud outcry the Jews began to clamor for His death.

At last Pilate perceived the harm wrought by his weakness and irresolution. Seeing that it was impossible to save our Lord's life, he had recourse to the symbolical action of washing his hands, described by St. Matthew thus: "Pilate . . . taking water, washed his hands before the people, saying: I am innocent of the blood of this just man; look you to it." It should be noticed that by the words, spoken while he washed his hands, Pilate himself explained what the action symbolized.

The symbolical washing of hands seems to have been a Jewish custom.[1] Baronius[2] supposes it to have originated in the rules laid down by Moses, in Deut. xxi., regarding the action to be taken in cases where a murder was committed and the murderer could not be discovered. The ancients of the city nearest to the scene of the crime had to wash their hands over a heifer that had been killed, and were to say, "Our hands did not shed this blood, nor did our eyes see it." Pilate's intention when he washed his hands is stated by Bynaeus thus: *ut Judaei injustitiae accusari se intelligerent facilius, cum ipse purum se conspicuo signo testaretur a sanguine innocentis.* But Pilate's own words contain his self-condemnation: *absolvit Christum, se ipsum condemnat.* In vain he tried by means of the words "Look you to it" to cast upon the Jews all the blame for the murder of an innocent man. St. Augustine[3] remarks: *laverit licet manus Pilatus, tamen sua facta non diluit; quamvis abstergere se putaverit justi sanguinem de suis membris, eodem tamen sanguine mens ejus tenetur infecta, ipse enim occidit Christum, qui eum tradidit occidendum.* Yet even this warning did not make the Jews reflect on what they were doing. When Pilate washed his hands in their presence they cried, as St. Matthew tells us, "His blood is upon us and upon our children," meaning that they were willing to assume full responsibility for shedding the Blood of Christ. History bears testimony to the terrible punishment that the Jews have had to endure for their crime.

IX. Christ is Scourged and Mocked

Matthew xxvii. 26–27	Mark xv. 15–16
26. (Pilate) having scourged Jesus, delivered him unto them to be crucified.	15. (Pilate) delivered up Jesus, when he had scourged him, to be crucified.
27. Then the soldiers of the governor taking Jesus into the hall, gathered together unto him the whole band;	16. And the soldiers led him away into the court of the palace, and they called together the whole band.

[1] Compare Bynaeus, III, 4, 51. [2] Ann. ad an. 34, n. 89.
[3] Sermo 118 de temp.

MATTHEW xxvii. 28–30

28. And stripping him, they put a scarlet cloak about him.

29. And platting a crown of thorns, they put it upon his head, and a reed in his right hand. And bowing the knee before him, they mocked him, saying: Hail, king of the Jews.

30. And spitting upon him, they took the reed, and struck his head.

JOHN xix. 1–3

1. Then therefore Pilate took Jesus, and scourged him.

2. And the soldiers platting a crown of thorns, put it upon his head; and they put on him a purple garment.

3. And they came to him and said: Hail, king of the Jews; and they gave him blows.

MARK xv. 17–19

17. And they clothed him with purple, and platting a crown of thorns, they put it upon him.

18. And they began to salute him: Hail, king of the Jews.

19. And they struck his head with a reed; And they did spit on him. And bowing their knees, they adored him.

After all his attempts to save Jesus had failed, Pilate acceded to the demand of the Jews, and allowed our Lord to be crucified. The scourging was inflicted as a preliminary to the crucifixion and had therefore no connection with the words of Pilate: "I will chastise him and release him" (Luke xxiii. 16). The formal death sentence, however, was pronounced after the scourging.

The Jewish as well as the Roman law prescribed scourging as one of their modes of chastisement. The Jews used a scourge consisting of three thongs, and the highest number of strokes inflicted was thirty-nine (2 Cor. xi. 24). In our Lord's case the scourging was performed by Roman soldiers in the Roman fashion. It was a peculiarly cruel, shameful, and agonizing punishment to which Roman citizens could not be condemned. The blows were given with a stick or rod, or often with elm-twigs, but a scourge in the strict sense of the word was frequently employed. It consisted of a short handle, to which were attached a number of leather lashes, with leaden weights fastened to the ends. The judge generally ordered the delinquent to be stripped and bound to a pillar, so that the punishment might be inflicted easily and with efficacy. Pagan and Christian writers alike bear testimony to its extraordinary barbarity. In a letter emanating from the Christian community in Smyrna, and preserved by Eusebius,[1] we read: "The bystanders were filled with horror when they saw how the flesh of the martyrs was torn off and the veins and arteries laid bare, and even the entrails were exposed to view."

[1] H. E. 4, 23.

The scourging of Jesus. The evangelists give us no details regarding our Lord's scourging. St. John alone in his supplementary account of the *Ecce Homo* enables us to infer that the punishment was inflicted upon Jesus with extreme cruelty. There is no reason to doubt that He underwent it in its most painful and shameful form, and was beaten savagely with scourges. The following are the reasons that justify this conclusion: All the three evangelists use the technical word designating this kind of scourging; St. John gives the Greek, St. Matthew and St. Mark the Latinized form of the word. The punishment was inflicted by brutal and merciless Roman soldiers, and after it our Lord's appearance was so pitiable that Pilate made it a reason for suggesting His release. Our divine Saviour was to be treated as a common slave and criminal, because He was offering salvation to fallen men and making them heirs to the glory and bliss of heaven.

According to very ancient reports, Jesus was bound to a pillar while He was scourged. The Pilgrim from Bordeaux bears testimony to this fact, in his account of his journey to the Holy Land in 333 and 334.[1]

In writing to Eustochium, a Roman lady, St. Jerome says that her mother Paula saw the actual pillar in Jerusalem to which Jesus is believed to have been bound. He writes: *ostendebatur illi columna ecclesiae porticum sustinens infecta cruore Domini, ad quam vinctus dicitur flagellatus* (or, according to another reading, *ducitur et flagellatur*).[2]

St. Bede writes: *columna marmorea stat in medio ecclesiae, cui adhaerens Dominus flagellatus est.* Our Lord stood naked while He was scourged. We conclude this not only from descriptions given by profane writers of the manner in which criminals were scourged, but there is a definite statement to this effect of very early date. The *Codex Vaticanus,* the oldest Greek manuscript of the Bible that has come down to us, tells us that our Lord's clothes were put on again after the scourging. Although the reading of the passage is incorrect, it nevertheless shows that the scribe believed Jesus to have been naked during His flagellation. Many of the early commentators lay stress upon the fact that our Lord, who was most pure and

[1] Itinerarium a Burdigalia Hierusalem usque.
[2] Ep. 108, 9, ad Eustochium. Epitaphium Paulae matris.

holy, endured this exposure of His body in expiation of men's sins against modesty and chastity.

The place of the scourging can be determined from the evangelists' statements. St. Matthew and St. Mark say that, when it was over, our Saviour was taken into the hall or inner court of the Praetorium, thus implying that He was scourged in front of the building, at the place of judgment. The Romans usually set up a pillar near their tribunals, that criminals might be scourged there. Some scholars have assumed that our Lord was scourged inside the Praetorium,[1] but this is probably a mistake, nor can this theory derive support from the fact that Pilate brought Jesus out of the Praetorium to present Him to the people. According to the evangelists the scourging was performed by Roman soldiers, most likely by the men who afterwards crucified our Saviour. We learn from the passage already quoted from St. Jerome's letter that in his lifetime the place of the scourging was already marked by a church. Later authors tell us that the chapel erected on the site bore the following inscription:

Sanctus Sanctorum damnatur voce reorum.
Pro servis bellum patitur Deus atque flagellum.
Haec bona crux Christi Simoni subvenit isti;
Non vehit hanc gratis, quae dat cuncta beatis.

The old chapel, having become completely ruinous, was replaced in 1839 by another, built by Duke Maximilian of Bavaria.

Why did Pilate order our Lord to be scourged? This question has often been discussed, and, before considering it, we must take into account the Biblical texts referring to it. St. Matthew and St. Mark agree in saying that Pilate, after scourging Jesus, delivered Him to the Jews to be crucified. St. Luke does not actually state that our Lord was scourged, but says that Pilate gave sentence (ἐπέκρινεν, Vulg. *adjudicavit*) that it should be as they, i.e., the Jews, required. From the context it is plain that αἴτημα, Vulg. *petitio*, can only refer to the Jews' demand for our Lord's crucifixion. St. Luke's account throws light upon that of the other synoptic writers, and seems to show that Pilate had made up his mind to sentence Jesus to death before he ordered Him to be scourged, although the

[1] Bynaeus, III, 4, 6.

formal condemnation was not yet pronounced, for St. John's account makes it plain that this took place only when Pilate's last attempt to save Jesus had failed.

If we bear these facts in mind, we shall not have much difficulty in seeing why Pilate ordered our Lord to be scourged. Three distinct theories have been propounded on this subject. Some writers think that Pilate ordered Christ to be examined under torture, *quaestio per tormenta,* in order to extort a confession from Him. This torture was not intended as a preliminary to the death sentence, but was accounted as already inflicted when this sentence was pronounced. On the other hand, many commentators, both ancient and modern, believe that the scourging was inflicted upon Jesus before the death sentence was pronounced in order to assuage the fury of the Jews. St. Augustine[1] sees no discrepancy between the accounts of the scourging as given by the synoptic evangelists and that of St. John, and in his treatise on the Fourth Gospel he says regarding the flagellation: *hoc Pilatus non ob aliud fecisse credendus est, nisi ut ejus injuriis Judaei satiati sufficere sibi existimarent, et usque ad ejus mortem saevire desisterent.*[2] According to the third theory, the scourging took place after Pilate had yielded to the Jews' demand, and so may be regarded as an actual preliminary to the crucifixion. Bynaeus takes this view, although he remarks incidentally that this cruel proceeding may have been designed to calm the fury of the Jews.[3] Langen, too, is of opinion that Pilate intentionally ordered our Lord to be scourged as a prelude to His crucifixion. This third opinion is probably correct, and is, I think, supported by the synoptic accounts. The statements of St. Matthew and St. Mark on the one hand, and that of St. John on the other, may be harmonized in the following way: Pilate yielded to the Jews' demand by ordering our Lord scourged, this punishment being preliminary to crucifixion, but the formal death sentence was

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[1] De cons. evang. 3, 36: *unde apparet, Matthaeum et Marcum "recapitulando" istud commemorasse, non quod tunc factum sit, cum eum Pilatus jam crucifigendum tradidisset.*

[2] In Joann. tract. 116, 1. So also Bede, Knabenbauer, and others.

[3] Bynaeus, III, 4, 5: *apparet non obscurum, Jesum Pilati jussu ex trito apud Romanos more caesum flagris esse, quoniam tradendus erat ad supplicium crucis, quamvis Pilatus, antequam cum "omnino" traderet, Judaeorum animos commovere conatus sit erga insontem.*

not pronounced until after the scourging, when the procurator's last attempt to save Jesus had failed.

Some commentators think that our Saviour was scourged twice, and that St. Matthew and St. Mark record one scourging, and St. John another. Maldonatus[1] and Bynaeus[2] allude to this theory.

The insults and ill treatment offered to Jesus by the Roman soldiery. After our Saviour had been scourged He was mocked and insulted by the Roman soldiers, just as in the previous night His condemnation by the Sanhedrin was followed by mockery and abuse on the part of Sanhedrists and servants. We are here dealing with another place and with soldiers, some of whom were not actively concerned with the flagellation. The four soldiers who, according to Pilate's instructions, had scourged our Lord, took Him into the court of the palace, and, as we learn from St. Matthew and St. Mark, called together the whole band of soldiers. We need not assume that the entire cohort of six hundred men was called, but only those who happened to be present and not on duty. They proceeded, no doubt with Pilate's consent, to insult and ill treat Jesus.[3]

First of all they dragged off our Lord's outer garment, that had been restored to Him after the scourging, and put on Him a cloak such as military commanders wore. This cloak was longer than that of an ordinary soldier, and was either white or purple in color. St. Mark and St. John say that the cloak cast round our Lord's shoulders was purple, but St. Matthew calls it scarlet. St. Augustine[4] gives a satisfactory explanation of this apparent discrepancy. He says that there was a great resemblance between purple and scarlet, and since scarlet was used more frequently than purple as a dye, the same garment might be described as either purple or scarlet. It is not necessary to assume that two cloaks were used in succession,[5] or, as St. Augustine goes on to suggest, that some part of the scarlet

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[1] ad Matth. xxvii. 26.
[2] Bynaeus, III, 4, 5.
[3] Leo, Sermon 8 de pass: *non jubente sed permittente Pilato.* Knabenbauer (*ad loc.*) lays too much stress upon this arbitrary action on the part of the soldiers as an argument in support of his theory that the scourging was not intended to be a prelude to the crucifixion, but to assuage the fury of the Jews against our Lord.
[4] De cons. evang. 3, 36.
[5] St. Ambrose and St. Hilary.

cloak was purple. From a very early period purple robes were worn by rulers, and the Roman emperors tried to claim for themselves the exclusive right to wear this color, as a mark of their imperial dignity, hence the soldiers' action ridiculed the claim to royalty attributed to our Lord. Moreover, even in remotest times kings and princes wore a diadem as an ornament and mark of honor. We hear of diadems used by the Egyptians and Persians, and later also by the Romans. A diadem consisted, as its name indicates,[1] of a band of silk or wool worn round the head, and after the time of Constantine the Great imperial diadems were ornamented with pearls and precious stones. Subsequently their place was taken by the crown. In the case of Jesus a crown platted by the soldiers of thorns represented the diadem. In addition to the grievous insult, He suffered intense bodily pain when the thorns were driven by rough blows into the skin and flesh. According to tradition the crown of thorns was made either of the lotus or of the common prickly thorn. The thorn known as *spina Christi* does not grow in the neighborhood of Jerusalem, therefore Funk favors the *paliurus aculeatus,* though the relics of the Crown of Thorns at Trèves and Brugge favor the thorn *spina Christi.* The former has pliant branches with many sharp spikes.

Another mark of kingly authority is the sceptre. It symbolizes power to uphold, protect, direct, or punish, and as such it was borne by oriental monarchs and by the later Roman emperors. The reed was placed as sceptre in our Lord's hand in mockery of His kingship. Then the soldiers began to do Him homage, kneeling before Him, accosting Him in ridicule as the King of the Jews, buffeting Him and striking Him on the head; and in order to give full expression to their profound contempt, they spat upon Him. Early commentators point out that the Roman soldiers were compelled involuntarily to bear testimony by their actions to our Lord's Messianic kingship, and to the significance of His work for the salvation of men. Moreover, by His marvellous patience, He set an example to all His followers, showing them how to overcome the sufferings of this world and secure the glory of heaven. St. Augustine concludes his account of this episode with the

[1] From διαδεῖν, to bind round.

words: *sic implebantur, quae de se praedixerat Christus; sic martyres informabantur ad omnia, quae persecutores libuisset facere, perferenda; sic paulisper occultata tremenda potentia commendabatur prius imitanda patientia; sic regnum, quod de hoc mundo non erat, superbum mundum non atrocitate pugnandi, sed patiendi humilitate vincebat; sic illud granum multiplicandum seminabatur horribili contumelia, ut mirabili pullularet in gloria.*[1]

X. Ecce Homo

John xix. 4–16

4. Pilate therefore went forth again, and saith to them: Behold I bring him forth unto you, that you may know that I find no cause in him.

5. (Jesus therefore came forth bearing the crown of thorns, and the purple garment.) And he saith to them: Behold the Man.

6. When the chief priests therefore and the servants had seen him, they cried out, saying: Crucify him, crucify him. Pilate saith to them: Take him you, and crucify him: for I find no cause in him.

7. The Jews answered him: We have a law; and according to the law he ought to die, because he made himself the Son of God.

8. When Pilate therefore had heard this saying, he feared the more.

9. And he entered into the hall again, and he said to Jesus: Whence art thou? But Jesus gave him no answer.

10. Pilate therefore saith to him: Speakest thou not to me? knowest thou not that I have power to crucify thee, and I have power to release thee?

11. Jesus answered; Thou shouldst not have any power against me, unless it were given thee from above. Therefore he that hath delivered me to thee, hath the greater sin.

12. And from thenceforth Pilate sought to release him. But the Jews cried out, saying: If thou release this man, thou art not Cesar's friend. For whosoever maketh himself a king, speaketh against Cesar.

13. Now when Pilate had heard these words, he brought Jesus forth; and sat down in the judgment seat, in the place that is called Lithostrotos, and in Hebrew Gabbatha.

14. And it was the parasceve of the pasch, about the sixth hour, and he saith to the Jews: Behold your king.

15. But they cried out: Away with him, away with him, crucify him. Pilate saith to them: Shall I crucify your king? The chief priests answered: We have no king but Cesar.

16. Then therefore he delivered him to them to be crucified.

After Jesus had been scourged and mocked, Pilate made one more attempt to save Him, and, this having failed, pronounced

[1] In Joann. tract. 116, 1.

the formal sentence of death. St. John alone records this stage of the proceedings and the touching scene of the *Ecce Homo,* which took place outside the Antonia, where Pilate's tribunal stood. The conversation was between Pilate on the one hand and the Sanhedrists and court attendants on the other; on this occasion the populace seems to have played no active part. St. John seems to indicate that Jesus was present only at the beginning of the discussion; He was probably afterwards taken into some room in the Antonia.

After He had been mocked by the soldiers in the courtyard, Jesus, still wearing the robes in which they had arrayed Him, was once more brought before Pilate, whose extraordinary attempt at rescue, and the reason offered for this attempt, show plainly that the pitiable condition of our Saviour had produced an overwhelming effect even upon the cold-hearted Roman. Among the Romans, scourging, mockery, and crucifixion were closely connected stages of judicial procedure, the former being the usual preliminaries to the barbarous mode of execution. Pilate, however, interrupted the ordinary course in order to try once more to save our Lord's life. The fact that the formal death sentence had not yet been pronounced made this unusual step possible.

The Sanhedrists and their attendants were assembled in front of the Praetorium, awaiting the final verdict, and Pilate went out to them, followed by Jesus, who was still wearing the crown of thorns upon His head, and the purple cloak. Pilate's own words show that his exhibition of our Lord at this stage of the proceedings was equivalent to an acknowledgment of His complete innocence. The line of argument was the following: Had I regarded Jesus as guilty, I should not have interrupted the usual course of things, but should have handed Him over to the executioners after He had been scourged. It is because I consider Him innocent that I am bringing Him out, in order to renew our discussion for securing His release. It is often assumed that Pilate's words, "I find no cause in Him," mean, "I find no reason for condemning Him to death," but if we adhere to the literal sense of the words we must understand them to be equivalent to a complete acquittal.[1] This solemn

[1] Jansenius: *nullam omnino causam invenio.*

testimony to our Lord's perfect innocence was at the same time a severe criticism of Pilate's previous behavior.[1] When pronouncing our Lord innocent, Pilate hoped that the Sanhedrists and their followers would be moved to pity at the pitiable spectacle that He presented, and would be satisfied with the chastisement already inflicted. Jesus came out of the palace and stood, "bearing the crown of thorns and the purple garment," in the open space in front of the building, while the procurator, who was deeply moved and filled with compassion, introduced Him to the merciless Sanhedrists, using the ever memorable words, *Ecce Homo,* behold the man, — words that convey to us some idea of the physically ill-treated but spiritually glorified form of the Son of Man. His body was torn by the lashes, His head pierced by the thorns, His face disfigured with filth, and with His own blood dripping down. Yet, in spite of all this misery, His patience, composure, innocence, and divine dignity were unmistakable. The Jews then beheld the servant of Yahweh of whom Isaias[2] wrote: "There is no beauty in him nor comeliness, and we have seen him, and there was no sightliness, that we should be desirous of him. Despised and the most abject of men, a man of sorrows and acquainted with infirmity, and his look was as it were hidden and despised. Whereupon we esteemed him not." Then were fulfilled the Psalmist's words:[3] "I am a worm and no man; the reproach of men and the outcast of the people," for, when He was scourged and mocked, Jesus underwent the utmost shame and suffering. Unknown to himself, Pilate uttered a profound truth in saying *Ecce Homo,* for thus he designated as "man" this Christ, by whose humiliation and torture men were to be raised to the heights of heavenly bliss.[4]

Pilate hoped that the Sanhedrists would be moved to pity at the sight of our Saviour, thus cruelly disfigured, and that they would be satisfied with the punishment already inflicted upon Him, but he was disappointed. Their hearts were so thoroughly hardened as to be incapable of any compassion, and their diabolical hatred[5] only made them demand our Lord's

[1] Toletus: *in se ipsum sententiam fert, qui in innocentem tam crudeliter saevierit.*
[2] liii. 2, 3. [3] Ps. xxi. 7.
[4] Toletus: *merito ecce homo dicitur, qui solus potuit hominem liberare.*
[5] Toletus: *Pilatus nesciebat, illos diabolico spiritu agitatos esse.*

execution more eagerly. According to St. Augustine, Pilate, when he said *Ecce Homo,* intended to convey to the Jews the idea *fervet ignominia, frigescat invidia,* but their action showed *non frigescit (invidia) inardescit potius et increscit.* It is generally assumed that our Lord's death was demanded in the first instance only by the Sanhedrists and their attendants, but subsequently the mass of the people, silent at first, joined in the outcry, being influenced by the attitude of their leaders. There is not much ground for this assumption, especially as St. John, in speaking of an earlier stage of the proceedings,[1] states explicitly that the people made common cause with their rulers, and makes no further mention here.

In reply to the Sanhedrists' impetuous demand, Pilate said, "Take him you, and crucify him: for I find no cause in him." In order rightly to interpret this utterance, we must bear in mind that a death sentence pronounced by the Sanhedrin required the procurator's confirmation before it could be validly carried out, and also that crucifixion was a punishment foreign to the Jewish criminal procedure. When these facts are taken into account we shall understand that Pilate expressed not only the greatest abhorrence of the barbarity of the Jews in not being satisfied with the punishment already inflicted, but also great indignation at their audacity in trying to make him pronounce an unjust sentence. Far from yielding to their demand, he refused it with contempt and decision. He meant to say: I for my part reject your demand to crucify Jesus, because it would be a crime committed against an innocent man.[2]

Since to some commentators a decided and contemptuous refusal seemed improbable on the part of a Roman procurator like the weak, avaricious, and unjust Pilate, who had so much reason for fearing the Jews, his expression has been regarded as a concession to his opponents, and it has been regarded as proof that, at the time of our Lord, the Sanhedrin possessed unrestricted powers of life and death.[3]

The argument that no Roman governor would have used such contemptuous language, as is ascribed to Pilate, has not much weight, for a weak man, with not much determination, would be just the one to forget the responsibilities of his official position. Moreover, many instances occur in history of imprudent action at critical moments even on the part of clever statesmen. There are two reasons for not regarding Pilate's words as a conces-

[1] xviii. 40.
[2] Jansenius: *est non concedentis, sed horrentis crimen.*
[3] Toletus: *sunt verba populi tumultum timentis, furoremque cohibere volentis.*

sion to the Jews. As we have already seen (p. 161), the Sanhedrin did not possess unrestricted powers of life and death at that time, and, even if it had possessed them, it could not have condemned Jesus to be crucified, because crucifixion was a Roman, and not a Jewish, mode of execution.

Jesus is charged with blasphemy. All previous attempts on part of the Sanhedrin having failed to obtain a verdict of crucifixion against Jesus, either for treason or for inciting the people to rebellion, His enemies devised a different means of attaining their end. They approached Pilate and made the definite statement, "We have a law; and according to the law he ought to die, because he made himself the Son of God." St. Augustine[1] states very clearly that the Jews now adopted another attitude and brought forward a new charge. Hitherto they had accused Jesus of being a political agitator, now they charged Him with a religious offence, punishable according to the law of Moses. This sudden change was well calculated to embarrass the procurator. Blasphemy was a crime that he had to punish with death, unless he wished to come into direct conflict with the Jewish law.

The charge of blasphemy was based upon our Lord's own utterances, both during His public ministry[2] and at His trial. The Sanhedrists, who insisted upon regarding Jesus as merely a human being, considered some of His speeches blasphemous, and demanded His death, in accordance with the law: "He that blasphemeth the name of the Lord, dying let him die. All the multitude shall stone him, whether he be a native or a stranger."[3] Although stoning to death was the legal punishment for blasphemy, the Sanhedrists merely said, "He ought to die," because from the outset they had determined that Jesus should be crucified, and they would not abandon this design even when forced to substitute a religious for the previous political accusation.[4] They seem to have argued as follows: We are speaking of the religious offence of blasphemy, and are guided by the Mosaic law in investigating whether this offence has been committed or not. Since we, the qualified exponents of the law, believe Jesus to be guilty of blasphemy, you, Pilate, cannot avoid condemning Him to death without voluntarily coming into conflict with the law of Moses. In order fully to realize the significance of the Sanhedrists' doings, we must remember that our Saviour Himself supplied His adversaries with evidence from the Scriptures showing that, according to the Old Testament revelation, the Messiah was the Son of God.

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[1] Tract. in Joann. 16, 3: *ecce altera invidia. Parva quippe illa videbatur, velut affectatae illicito ausu regiae potestatis, et tamen neutrum sibi Jesus mendacitur usurpavit; sed utrumque verum est, et unigenitus est Dei filius et rex ab eo constitutus super Sion montem sanctum ejus.*

[2] Compare John v. 17; x. 30.

[3] Lev. xxiv. 16.

[4] Toletus: *non exprimunt legis poenam, quia non lapidari, sed crucifigi eum cupiebant.*

This statement reduced His enemies to silence, nor could they deny the miracles which He wrought in testimony that He was the Son of God. With regard to the charge of blasphemy Bynaeus says: *latet daemoniaca calumnia, verum enim erat, se filium Dei praedicasse, sed tamen Christus miris operibus et divinis virtutibus propheticisque testimoniis id confirmaverat . . . sat rem nude omissis testimoniis et argumentis proponunt.*[1]

When the Sanhedrists charged Jesus with making Himself the Son of God, Pilate, already embarrassed, was plunged into still greater difficulty and confusion. The pagans believed some persons to be sons of their gods,[2] and Pilate no doubt put the pagan interpretation upon the Sanhedrists' words, but, although he was convinced of our Lord's innocence, he could not but fear that further charges would be brought against Him. With a view to obtaining information on this point, Pilate withdrew into the palace, whither Jesus seems already to have been taken. Some commentators suppose that Pilate took our Lord with Him into the Praetorium. He eagerly began to question Jesus, saying, "Whence art thou?" This meant not "where wast thou born?" but "what was thy parentage? art thou of divine or human origin?" To this question our Lord made no answer. Several reasons for this silence have been suggested. Some think that He refrained from speaking because Pilate as judge needed no reply, being in a position to convince himself otherwise of our Lord's innocence. Others suppose Pilate to have been unworthy to receive an answer, and incapable of understanding Christ's claim to be the Son of God. Others again believe that Jesus was silent because He did not intend to induce Pilate to release Him, but was prepared to die for the salvation of mankind.[3] St. Augustine sees in Christ's silence before the Jewish and Roman tribunals the fulfillment of the prophecy, in which Isaias compares the Messiah with a lamb led to the slaughter. He concludes his discussion of the passage with the following words: *cum ergo judicaretur, ubicunque non aperuit os suum, sicut agnus non aperuit; i.e., non sicut male sibi conscius, qui de peccatis convincebatur suis, sed sicut mansuetus, qui pro peccatis immolabatur alienis.*[4]

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[1] III, 4, 21.

[2] Toletus: *Pilatus multitudini deorum gentium assuefactus. . . . Christum quamvis hominem dei alicujus filium esse suspicatus est.* Compare Acts xiv. 10.

[3] Bynaeus, III, 4, 24; Toletus *ad loc.*

[4] Tract. in Joann. 116, 4.

Pilate, being judge and procurator, was deeply offended at this silence, and it was in order to inspire our Lord with awe rather than with confidence that he referred to his own power and authority, which he would not let be ignored with impunity. The words, "Knowest thou not that I have power to crucify thee, and I have power to release thee?" are the utterance of an irresponsible tyrant[1] who pronounces the condemnation of his own action,[2] and not of a judge guided by the principles of justice and equity.

Then at last our Lord opened His lips to show how vain was Pilate's arrogant assertion, and how great the guilt of those who made unjust and arbitrary use of their power. Jesus solemnly declared that Pilate could have no authority over Him unless it were given him from above. These words are generally understood as referring to the divinely derived[3] power that Pilate possessed as procurator, in virtue of which he had the right, and even the obligation, to investigate our Lord's case at his tribunal. Other commentators,[4] however, think that Jesus referred, not to Pilate's official authority, but to God's ordinance and permission which formed part of His scheme for man's salvation. According to this ordinance the God-Man, who was subject to no authority, was nevertheless, in order to effect our redemption, brought before Pilate and sentenced to death. The possession of this power emanated from God; its employment for the condemnation of Jesus was on Pilate's part an abuse of it, permitted by God.[5]

Having uttered this protest, Jesus added, "Therefore he that hath delivered me to thee hath the greater sin." The meaning is clear — the sin committed by the Jews in condemning Jesus and handing Him over to Pilate was greater than that committed by the procurator in sentencing Him to death. It is, however, difficult to see the connection between these and the preceding words. The following explanation, taken from St. Augustine, is probably correct. Our Lord's meaning was: pre-

[1] Jansenius: *spirant haec verba tyrannidem.*

[2] Ambros.: *tua, Pilate, voce constringeris, tua damnaris sententia, pro potestate igitur non aequitate crucifigendum Dominum tradidisti.*

[3] Rom. xiii. 1.

[4] Toletus and Jansenius.

[5] Toletus: *quaeritur, quo modo "datum" sit, num permissionis an concessionis? per modum concessionis respectu potestatis in se, permissionis respectu usus potestatis.*

cisely because by divine ordinance and permission you are my judge, if you sentence me to death through fear of the Jews, your sin is less than theirs, for they handed me over to you from motives of malice, hatred, and envy.[1] The Jews incurred the greater guilt, because our Lord had most plainly revealed Himself to them as the Son of God, and had substantiated His claim to be regarded as such by them.

Pilate's last attempt to save our Lord's Life. After, and in consequence of, this last conversation with Jesus, Pilate made a fresh but unsuccessful attempt to save Him. St. John gives no details of this attempt, but we can see, from the previous proceedings, why it was made. Our Lord's statement, that it was only through a special dispensation that Pilate had authority over Him, certainly produced some effect. When our Saviour, in His deep humiliation and intense suffering, declared that Pilate would have to answer for the misuse of the authority entrusted to him, the procurator realized that he would incur a heavy responsibility if he definitely sentenced Jesus to death.[2] The Jews, however, frustrated Pilate's last efforts, for they adopted a line of action certain to attain their end, thus showing how well they understood to use Pilate's weakness for their own purposes. They promptly assigned a political significance to our Lord's testimony that He was the Son of God, by interpreting it in the light of their own expectations regarding the Messiah, and so they used the ominous words, "If thou release this man, thou art not Cesar's friend." Under the Roman emperors "Cesar's friend" was a title of honor given to the most trusty counsellors and highest officials in the provinces.[3]

The statement, "Thou art not Cesar's friend," was far more significant than at first sight it appears to be. It conveys a charge of disloyalty toward the emperor, coupled with a threat of an accusation of treason.[4] This threat could not be disregarded, for we know from contemporary writers that Tibe-

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[1] August. Tract. in Joann. 116, 5: *ille quippe me tuae potestati tradidit "invidendo," tu vero eandem potestatem in me exerciturus se "metuendo." Nec timendo quidem, praesertim innocentem, homo hominem debet occidere; sed tamen id zelando facere multo magis malum est quam timendo.* The same interpretation is given by Chrysostom, Hom. 83; Thomas; Bynaeus, III, 4, 26, and others.

[2] Toletus: *cognovit inique esse traditum, cognovit etiam se inique acturum, si inique traditum damnaret.*

[3] The title was given to all those qualified to attend court functions.

[4] Jansenius: *plus significant quam dicunt, taciteque accusationem perfidiae apud Caesarem minantur.*

rius was an extremely jealous and suspicious ruler, who not only enforced the laws of treason very strictly, but considered many minor offences treasonable.[1] Moreover, Pilate's cruelty and injustice had already earned for him a bad reputation.[2]

The covert threat was not without effect upon the weak and guilty procurator. Thenceforth he disregarded our Lord's innocence, upon which he had hitherto laid so much stress, and showed himself anxious to curry favor with the Jews, in order to safeguard his own position.[3] But while Pontius Pilate surrendered Jesus to the Jews, he did not succeed in saving himself, as was related in a previous chapter.

Time and place of our Lord's condemnation. In accordance with divine dispensation, Jesus was not formally and definitely sentenced to death until the most convincing evidence of His innocence had been brought forward, and until it was made positively evident that the real reasons for His condemnation were the implacable hatred of the Jews and Pilate's pusillanimity. Roman judicial procedure required the judge to sit in the judgment seat while pronouncing sentence. Pilate therefore went up to the seat, and there followed a scene fraught with importance to the human race. The God-Man was condemned to die, in order that men, who had been doomed to spiritual death, might have life. This is the reason why the evangelist has preserved for us both the Hebrew and the Greek names of the spot where the judgment seat stood. It was called "Gabbatha," because it was raised somewhat above the level, and "Lithostrotos," because it was paved with stones. It was not within the Temple precincts, but was a slight elevation in front of the Antonia. At the present day it is still pointed out in the Turkish barracks erected on this place.[4] In order to emphasize the importance of the event, St. John records with great precision the day and hour when our Lord was condemned. "It was the parasceve of the pasch," the day of preparation included in the Paschal season, Friday, the 15th of the month Nisan, "about the sixth hour," i.e., probably between six and seven in the morning.

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[1] Tacitus, Ann. I, 71, 73, 74; III, 38. Suetonius and Tiberius, 56.

[2] Flav. Jos. Ant. xviii. 4, 1; B. J. II, 9, 3, 4; Tacitus, Ann. XV, 44.

[3] Toletus: *quem timor innocentiae et divinitatis Christi ab ejus damnatione hucusque averterant et retraxerant, mundanus timor impellit.*

[4] According to Mommert (*l. c.* pp. 82–104) the tribunal was not on the elevation, but at the foot of the rock on which the Antonia stood, close to the old temple hill in the district called el Wad. Since 1854 this spot has belonged to the Uniate Armenians.

There are difficulties in both statements, and various attempts have been made to solve them. Παρασκευή τοῦ πάσχα as the designation of a day of the week is frequently explained thus: It was the day of preparation before the first day of the Pasch. If this be correct, Christ was condemned and crucified on the eve of the Jewish Pasch, and in that case either He anticipated the Paschal supper, or the Jews postponed it by a day. Against this interpretation is the fact that παρασκευή (parasceve) in the New Testament is never used of the eve of a festival, but always of the day before the Sabbath, viz., Friday. Moreover, it is pointed out that in the New Testament, and especially in St. John, πάσχα designates the whole festival, and not exclusively the great day of the feast, the 15th of Nisan. In this case, when St. John speaks of the parasceve of the Pasch, he is referring to the Friday within the Paschal season. In the year of the crucifixion this Friday coincided with the great day of the feast.

It is more difficult to reconcile St. John's statement, that Jesus was sentenced to death about the sixth hour, with St. Mark's words[1] that He was crucified at the third hour. From the earliest times down to the present day attempts have been made to overcome the discrepancy.[2] We must reject the suggestion that in one or other of the gospels there is a textual mistake, for critical examination proves conclusively that St. Mark wrote the third and St. John the sixth hour. St. Augustine discusses this point in his work on the consensus of the evangelists[3] as well as in his treatise on St. John's gospel.[4] In the former work he makes the following attempt to harmonize the two statements: *hora tertia crucifixus est Dominus linguis Judaeorum, hora sexta manibus militum.* In the second work he suggests that the sixth hour mentioned by St. John should be reckoned from the ninth hour of the night (3 A.M.), when Jesus was condemned to death by the Sanhedrin. He finds ground for this suggestion in the fact that St. John introduces his statement of time by the words "it was the parasceve of the Pasch." St. Augustine refers to St. Paul's expression, "Christ our Pasch,[5] and sees in the word "Pasch" here an allusion to Christ, of whom the Paschal lamb was a type. He argues thus: At the ninth hour (3 A.M.) began the preparation of the Paschal lamb, when Christ was condemned by the Sanhedrin, and at the sixth hour after this condemnation (i.e., at 9 A.M.), this preparation was completed by the procurator's sentence and the crucifixion that followed it. St. Augustine's first suggestion has been accepted by St. Bede and some later commentators,[6] as well as by Roth, a recent writer, who interprets St. Mark's expression "they crucified him" in a wide sense, making it include the scourging and the way of the cross, besides the actual crucifixion. Roth harmonizes the account thus: According to St. Mark the scourging, which was the first stage of the crucifixion, took place at the third hour, and, according to St. John, it was about the sixth hour (noon) that Jesus was formally sentenced to death and crucified.

At the period when the gospels were written, the Roman method of reckoning time from midnight onwards was in use in Asia Minor, and consequently many modern commentators assume that, when St. John mentions the sixth hour, we must understand him to mean 6 A.M. As a rule, St. John follows the Jewish method, but it is thought that here he may have adopted the Roman reckoning, because he was recording a public Roman trial.

[1] xv. 25. [2] Compare Bynaeus, III, 4, 37–44. [3] De cons. evang. 3, 41 *seqq.*
[4] Tract. in Joann. 117, 1, 2. [5] 1 Cor. v. 7.
[6] Theophylact, Jacobus Lydius (*apud* Bynaeus, III, 4, 40), Morinus: *dissertatio de horis salvificis pass. J. Chr. D. N.*

Moreover, his use of the word "about" (ὡς) may justify us in thinking that he is alluding to the period between 6 and 7 A.M. If this be correct, it was about 6 o'clock, or between 6 and 7 in the morning, when Pilate sat down in the judgment seat to make his last attempt to save our Lord, and, when that attempt failed, to pronounce sentence of death, and about 9 A.M., or at the third hour, according to the Hebrew reckoning, the execution of the death sentence began to take place. Against this theory it may be urged that it would hardly have been possible for the proceedings before Pilate and the sending of Jesus to Herod to have taken place so early in the day. If, however, we bear in mind that trials before the Roman tribunal began at a very early hour, and that Pilate had every reason for hurrying on this case, because great crowds had assembled to celebrate the festival, we shall see that this attempt to overcome the difficulty is not to be hastily rejected. Schegg follows Toletus, Cornelius à Lapide, and others, in thinking that, when St. Mark speaks of the third hour, he refers not to a definite point of time, but to the period between 9 A.M. and noon, for the Jews divided the day into quarters. In this way it is easy to reconcile St. Mark's statement with that of St. John, for "about the sixth hour" may very well be understood as designating the hour between 11 A.M. and noon. If this be correct, we may assume that Jesus was crucified between 9 A.M. and noon (St. Mark), after, as stated by St. John, He had been condemned to death about the sixth hour, i.e., between 11 and 12 o'clock. Knabenbauer holds a similar opinion, and thinks that the sixth hour mentioned by St. John is undoubtedly the sixth hour after sunrise, i.e., noon, according to our reckoning.

The Sanhedrin had disregarded the supreme revelation regarding the promised Messiah, and now they abandoned the Messiah Himself as well as the theocratic position of the Jews as the chosen people, for they cried, "We have no king but Cesar." With this cry they secured our Lord's condemnation, and at the same time, unintentionally and involuntarily, determined their own fate.

One further point requires discussion: Was Jesus condemned to death according to the Roman or the Jewish law? A survey of the judicial proceedings will suggest the answer to this question. At the night and morning sessions of the Sanhedrin Jesus was found guilty of blasphemy, in accordance with the Law of Moses. Before Pilate the Jews accused Him of inciting the people to rebellion, and of being hostile to the Roman government. The procurator investigated these charges, and declared our Lord to be perfectly innocent. His adversaries, being thus foiled, shifted their ground and demanded His execution because He had been found guilty of blasphemy according to the Mosaic law. Taking Christ's guilt for proved, they called upon Pilate to pronounce the death sentence. By dint of threatening the procurator, who was a weak man, and burdened with an uneasy conscience, the Sanhedrists succeeded in forcing him to accede to their request, and to condemn Jesus to crucifixion, a Roman mode of execution.

With regard to the judicial proceedings against our Lord, it is clear that they assumed a religious-political form. Jesus is seen as the victim of Jewish fanatics, to whom the Roman procurator abandoned Him, partly from political considerations and partly through fear of losing his own position. This was the real underlying reason, concealed under a semblance of regular procedure. Hence Christ's death was a religious-political murder, procured by an abuse of a court of law, and by intimidation of a weak and corrupt judge.

SECTION V

THE CRUCIFIXION AND BURIAL OF CHRIST

In this section we deal with the following subjects:

1. The Way of the Cross, recorded by all the evangelists, most briefly by St. John, most fully by St. Luke.

2. The Crucifixion of Jesus, recorded by all the four evangelists, although each account contains special features, that are discussed separately.

3. Miraculous events following our Lord's death. These are mentioned only by the synoptic writers, and particularly by St. Matthew.

4. Our Lord's side is pierced with a lance. St. John alone records this occurrence.

5. The Burial of our Lord, recorded by all the evangelists.

6. The tomb is sealed and a watch is set; recorded only by St. Matthew.

I. The Way of the Cross

Matthew xxvii. 31–34

31. And after they had mocked him, they took off the cloak from him, and put on him his own garments, and led him away to crucify him.

32. And going out they found a man of Cyrene, named Simon: him they forced to take up his cross.

33. And they came to the place that is called Golgotha, which is the place of Calvary.

34. And they gave him wine to drink, mingled with gall. And when he had tasted he would not drink.

Mark xv. 20–23

20. And after they had mocked him, they took off the purple from him, and put his own garments on him, and they led him out to crucify him.

21. And they forced one Simon a Cyrenian who passed by, coming out of the country, the father of Alexander and of Rufus, to take up his cross.

22. And they bring him into the place called Golgotha, which being interpreted is, the place of Calvary.

23. And they gave him to drink wine mingled with myrrh; but he took it not.

LUKE xxiii. 26–32

26. And as they led him away, they laid hold of one Simon of Cyrene, coming from the country; and they laid the cross on him to carry after Jesus.

27. And there followed him a great multitude of people, and of women who bewailed and lamented him.

28. But Jesus turning to them said: Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not over me, but weep for yourselves, and for your children.

29. For behold the days shall come, wherein they will say: Blessed are the barren, and the wombs that have not borne, and the paps that have not given suck.

30. Then shall they begin to say to the mountains: Fall upon us: and to the hills: Cover us.

31. For if in the green wood they do these things, what shall be done in the dry?

32. And there were also two other malefactors led with him to be put to death.

JOHN xix. 16–17

16. . . . And they took Jesus and led him forth.

17. And bearing his own cross he went forth to that place which is called Calvary, but in Hebrew Golgotha.

The way to the place of execution. The shortest account of this episode is given by St. John, the longest by St. Luke. Tradition has preserved for us the exact route of the Saviour's *via dolorosa,* and the precise spots at which the various events in its course took place. Further details, that appear to be trustworthy, are furnished by the apocryphal Acts of Pilate, to supplement the evangelists' scanty accounts.[1]

When a condemned criminal was taken to execution, it was usual to conduct him along busy streets, in order to add to his degradation and to strike fear into the minds of the people. We read in Dio Cassius[2] that a slave sentenced to death was forced to walk across the forum wearing a tablet on which his offence was inscribed. Consequently, on His way to execution our Lord passed through the lower part of the city, along what is now called the Via Dolorosa.[3] The eastern portion of the

[1] Acta Pilati, B. X. 1–4; compare Tisch. Evang. apocr., *ed. altera,* 302–306.

[2] 54, 3.

[3] Compare Thurston, The Stations of the Cross, 1906. The level of the

street, as far as its junction with the road from Damascus on the north, is also known as Taril Bâb Sitti Maryam, i.e., the street of Our Lady Mary, and its continuation is the Tarik el Alâm, the way of sorrows. The first four stations are situated in the former street, the next five in the latter, and the last five in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

Our Lord's Way of the Cross began at the Fortress Antonia, on the northwest corner of the Temple hill, and thence He passed westward through the old lower city, leaving the town at the so-called Aphren Gate, and thence proceeding to the place of execution. According to Mommert, who, as has already been said, thinks that Pilate's judgment seat was at the foot of the hill where the fortress stood, our Lord started from the bottom, not the top of the hill. As early as the thirteenth century the Franciscans marked out the various stages of the Via Dolorosa, and Mommert regards their identification of the sites on the whole as accurate, though he thinks the first four stations ought to be placed nearer together. Those of the commentators who believe that the judgment seat was on Mount Sion, in front of the royal palace, reckon that the Way of the Cross began at that point. Its total length was about a thousand paces. Any attempt to fix the hour at which our Lord started on His way to Calvary must depend upon the manner in which we reconcile the statement of St. Mark and St. John regarding the time of his condemnation. This subject was discussed in the previous section. According to one solution of the difficulty our Saviour set out about 9 A.M.; according to the other, between 11 and 12; it is certain that by noon He was hanging on the cross. Both among the Jews[1] and the Romans[2] it was usual for executions to take place outside a city, at some distance from human habitations. The four evangelists and the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews (xiii. 12, 13) all agree in saying that our Lord was crucified outside the walls of Jerusalem.

Crucifixion was the most severe, cruel, and shameful form of execution, and was carried out by Roman soldiers under the direction of a centurion, who was called for that reason the *exactor mortis*.[3] The evangelists tell us that also our Lord was crucified by Roman soldiers at whose head was a centurion, and we may reasonably assume that the same soldiers who had scourged and then mocked Him in the courtyard at the Praetorium accompanied Him on His way to execution.[4] The actual crucifixion was performed by four soldiers, who afterwards remained on guard. The special precautions taken at our Lord's arrest justify the assumption that a considerable number of soldiers escorted Him to Golgotha.

Jesus bearing His cross. A malefactor, condemned to be crucified, was forced to carry his own cross to the place of execution, and this means the whole cross, not only the transverse

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Jerusalem streets is now considerably higher than what it was in our Lord's time.

[1] Lev. xxiv. 14; Num. xv. 35; 3 Kings xxi. 10; Acts vii. 58.
[2] Tacitus, Ann. xv. 44.
[3] Tacitus, Ann. iii. 14.
[4] Acta Pilati, X, 2.

beam.[1] Accordingly, after the gorgeous robe that He had worn when mocked had been removed and His own garments restored, the cross was laid upon our Lord's shoulders. In all probability His hands were, according to the usual custom, bound with ropes to the upright of the cross. We read in the Acts of Pilate that Jesus was led forth with His hands bound, and with the crown of thorns upon His head.[2]

Then a procession was formed; at the head marched the centurion with a number of soldiers, then followed our Lord, with Him two thieves who were also to be crucified. To the right and left of those about to die walked the four soldiers who were to carry out the death sentence, and other soldiers brought up the rear. Behind these came our Lord's friends, to whom allusion will be made later on.

St. John alone states explicitly that Jesus carried His cross. and the word that he employs indicates complete willingness on our Lord's part,[3] for He was eager to accomplish the work of redemption and to secure the salvation of mankind. On the words, "bearing His own cross He went forth," St. Augustine remarks: *grande spectaculum; sed si spectet impietas, grande ludibrium; si pietas, grande mysterium; si spectet impietas, grande ignominiae documentum; si pietas, grande fidei munimentum; si spectet impietas, ridet regem pro virga regni lignum sui portare supplicii; si pietas, videt regem bajulantem lignum ad semetipsum figendum, quod fixurus erat etiam in frontibus regum; in eo spernendus oculis impiorum, in quo erant gloriatura corda sanctorum.* The excessive agony of mind and body that He had undergone had, however, so much exhausted our Lord that, after carrying the cross for a short distance He fell under its weight. The Acts of Pilate[4] tell us that He carried the cross as far as the city gate, where it was taken from Him because, owing to its weight and the blows that He had received, He could go no farther, and the Jews opposed any postponement of the execution. Later tradition records that our Lord fell at the entrance of the street now known as the Via Dolorosa. The exact place is marked with a stone on which

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[1] Acta Pilati, X.
[2] B. X. 2: *τὸν φοροῦντα τὸν στέφανον τὸν ἀκάνθινον καὶ τὰς χεῖρας δεδεμένον.*
[3] The same verb occurs in the Acta Pilati, B. X. 1.
[4] B. X. 1.

is a slight cavity, said to have been produced by the touch of His hand. This is the lowest point of the city, and here begins a steep ascent. A very precise account of the traditions regarding the events on our Lord's way to Calvary is given by Christian Adrichem (Adrichomius), a German theologian, who visited the Holy Land in the sixteenth century.[1]

Simon of Cyrene. When the cross was taken from our Lord's shoulders, it was laid on those of Simon of Cyrene, whom they forced to carry it after Him. Simon's Hebrew name might show him to have been a Jew by birth, and we know from Flavius Josephus that many Jews lived in Cyrene, and they even had a synagogue of their own in Jerusalem at the time of our Lord.[2] However, according to Belser, Simon of Cyrene was not a Jew but a heathen, as the names of his children, Alexander and Rufus, indicate. He happened to come at the time when our Lord was led out, ἀπ' ἀγροῦ (Mark xv. 21 and Luke xxiii. 26), which could not be understood as the Vulgate gives it, *de villa,* but has to be taken from "fieldwork," therefore he was a poor laborer and a plebeian. He was forced, ἀγγαρεύουσιν (Mark xv. 21) and ἠγγάρευσαν (Matthew xxvii. 32), to carry the cross, instead of one of the crowd, just because he was no Jew, so that it might be taken from our Lord, who, as a Jew, could not carry a burden without breaking the Sabbath law. So the question whether Simon was a Jew or a Gentile is not altogether settled. Simon was a wealthy man, with property near Jerusalem. Being on his way from his farm to the Temple, he met the procession escorting Jesus to Calvary, and was unceremoniously forced, either by the soldiers or by the Jews,[3] to carry the cross. St. Mark and St. Luke say that Simon was coming from the country, and this is frequently taken to mean that he was coming from work in the fields. Thence it is further deduced that the crucifixion took place on a working day, viz., on the day before the Paschal festival. There is, however, no reason at all for inferring from the gospel narrative that Simon was coming from work in the fields.

Simon's task was most degrading in the eyes of both Jews and Romans, but he soon received his reward. On a previous occasion Christ had

[1] Theatrum terrae sanctae. Cologne, 1590.
[2] Acts vi. 9.
[3] Acta Pilati, X, 1.

vaguely foretold His own way of the cross,[1] and had said that none could be worthy of Him who did not take up his cross and follow Him. Simon of Cyrene was the first who literally carried the cross after our Lord; he bore it indeed under compulsion and at first with feelings of deep indignation, but the virtue that followed from the cross over the human race, drawing all men to Christ,[2] soon converted Simon and made him a true follower of our crucified Lord. According to tradition he became a Christian, and was put to death when bishop of Bostra in Arabia.[3] St. Mark says that he was the father of Alexander and Rufus, who were probably members of the Christian Church for which the evangelist primarily wrote; at any rate, they were well-known men, and Rufus may be identified with the Rufus mentioned by St. Paul in Romans xvi. 13. The mother of this Rufus, who was probably the wife of Simon of Cyrene, is called by St. Paul his own mother; no doubt she treated the apostle with the care and affection of a mother. The earliest commentators agree in regarding it as clear from the synoptic gospels that Simon carried the whole cross, and did not merely support the lower part of it. The Fathers and recent writers express the same opinion, and on a very ancient mosaic in San Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna a man is depicted walking behind our Saviour and carrying His cross. On the other hand, on a miniature in the Cambridge Codex the weight of the cross seems to be shared by our Lord and Simon, and from the eleventh century onward most artists have represented this joint carrying of the burden.

The women of Jerusalem. St. Luke alone tells us that the procession was followed by a multitude of people and many women who bewailed and lamented Jesus. Our Lord's form of address shows that they were chiefly women of Jerusalem, but this is no reason for excluding from their number Our Lady and the women of Galilee, some of whom stood afterwards at the foot of the cross, and others at a little distance from it. In the Acts of Pilate[4] explicit mention is made of St. John, Our Lady, Martha, Mary Magdalen, and Salome, and we read that other women followed them.

Many commentators think that most of the women had gone out merely from motives of curiosity, and that their cries of sorrow were nothing but the expression of a very natural sympathy with the lot of an unhappy man, no matter whether they regarded him as innocent or guilty. St. Luke, however, says that they bewailed and lamented Jesus, and from this statement and the fact of our Lord's addressing them, we may infer that they had a worthier reason for their grief, and mourned because they knew Him to be innocent, because they had received many benefits from Him, and because they had at least a presentiment that He was the Messiah. Turning to these women,

[1] Matthew x. 38.
[2] John xii. 32.
[3] Kirchenlexikon.
[4] B. X. 2.

and heedless of the sorrowful end awaiting Him, Jesus indicated with deep emotion and sympathy the terrible punishment which the murder of the Messiah would bring down upon the Holy City and its inhabitants. "Weep not over me," He said, for it was of His own free will that He was going to die, and His path of suffering, shameful as it was, led to victory and triumph over the powers of darkness. "Weep for yourselves and your children," for days of misery and oppression are at hand. The solemn form of address, "Daughters of Jerusalem," shows that our Saviour had in view the terrible visitation impending over the chosen people. In words quoted from the prophet Osee[1] Jesus described the awful despair that would come upon the Jews when God began to chastise them; it would, He said, be so great that men would long for death to release them from it. The fulfillment of this prophecy is recorded by Josephus in the fifth and sixth books of the Jewish Wars. As the reason for foretelling the chastisement our Lord said: "If in the green wood they do these things, what shall be done in the dry?" i.e., if the innocent Son of Man has to endure so grievous and shameful a lot, what will be done to the sinners who are crowning their impiety by the murder of the Messiah? Yet, the severe punishment fell only upon those who deliberately persisted in being dry wood. Those who became faithful followers of Christ were transformed into green and fruitful wood, by virtue of the life proceeding from the true Vine, Christ Himself.[2] Because this expression was sanctified by our Lord's own use, the day in Holy Week on which notorious sinners were formally reconciled to the Church after doing penance was called Green Thursday.

The Legend of St. Veronica. According to a not very ancient tradition, St. Veronica, who is frequently mentioned in the apocryphal scriptures, was one of the women who accompanied Jesus to Golgotha. In the Acts of Pilate we read that she came forward as witness for the defence, and declared that after suffering for twelve years from an issue of blood she had been immediately cured by merely touching our Lord's garment.[3] In reply the Jews are said to have refused to accept the testimony of a woman.

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[1] x. 8.

[2] John xv. 1.

[3] Acta Pilati, C. vii. Compare Tisch. 239 and 298. In the MS. known as A her name appears as Βερνίκη, in B as Βερονίκη = the ancient Greek φερενίκη, the bringer of victory. The Latin form Veronica is taken from the Greek, but some writers have attempted to derive it from *vera icon* = the true likeness.

Thus in the Acts of Pilate Veronica is identified with the woman who suffered from an issue of blood, of whom we read in the synoptic gospels;[1] Eusebius, however, though he gives a detailed account of this woman, does not identify her with Veronica. He writes: "From that town [i.e., Paneas, afterwards Caesarea Philippi] it is believed that the woman with the issue of blood came, who, as we read in the gospels, was delivered from her malady by our Redeemer. Her house is still pointed out in the town, and there still exist some remarkable memorials of our Saviour's goodness toward her. On a lofty stone near the door of her house is the bronze figure of a woman, kneeling on one knee with her hands stretched out in an attitude of supplication. Opposite to her is the figure, also in bronze, of a man, clothed with a cloak, who is holding out his hand toward her. At his feet round the pillar grows a peculiar plant that has climbed up to the hem of his cloak and serves as a remedy for various diseases. This male figure is believed to represent Jesus. It has been preserved to the present time, and I saw it with my own eyes when I visited the town."[2] According to the apocryphal "Death of Pilate,"[3] Veronica possessed the portrait of our Lord's holy Face, which He had impressed for her upon a linen cloth on one of His journeys to preach the gospel. On the other hand, the "Vindicta Salvatoris"[4] only say that Veronica treasured in her home and venerated the likeness of Christ on a white cloth, but we are not told when and how it came into her possession. In the fourteenth century this legend was amplified, and thenceforth Veronica is said to have wiped our Lord's face with a handkerchief, when He turned round on His way to Calvary, and His features remained indelibly traced upon the cloth. This meeting with Veronica is now commemorated as the sixth station of the cross, and is believed to have occurred some 110 or 120 paces westward of the spot where the cross was transferred to Simon of Cyrene. The earliest representations of this scene date from the fifteenth century, and at the same place Veronica's grave is pointed out; on it is her bust carved in stone. This portrait of our Lord is said to have been taken to Rome as early as the reign of Tiberius, and to have been shown to the emperor.[5] According to another tradition it did not reach Rome until 705 A.D. It is now one of the most precious relics in St. Peter's.

Golgotha. Among the ancients there were no fixed places of execution, such as existed in the Middle Ages, but when a criminal was to be put to death a place was selected that was either on high ground, and consequently conspicuous, or in a busy thoroughfare, the intention being to give publicity to the execution, that it might have a deterrent effect upon the spectators. Golgotha was chosen as the place for our Lord's crucifixion. We learn from the Bible that it was outside the walls, but not far from Jerusalem,[6] and we may infer that it was close

[1] Matthew ix. 18 and parallel passages.
[2] H. E. 7, 18.
[3] *Mors Pilati, qui Jesum condemnavit:* compare Tisch. 456–458.
[4] Compare Tisch., 471–486.
[5] Vindicta Salvatoris, 34 (Tisch. 485).
[6] Matthew xxvii. 32; Hebr. xiii. 12; John xix. 20.

by a public road.[1] The name Golgotha means *cranium*, or, as the evangelists say, the place of a skull. Three reasons for this name have been suggested.[2] Recent scholars are almost unanimous in thinking that the configuration of the spot gave rise to the name, and that Golgotha was a rocky mound, shaped like a skull, and devoid of vegetation. Such a mound would be a conspicuous object, and the already mentioned Pilgrim from Bordeaux describes Calvary as a little hill (*monticulus Golgotha*). Others[3] derive the name from the skulls of malefactors previously executed on that spot; but against this derivation must be urged the fact that nowhere is there any record of the existence of a fixed place for executions, and, moreover, as the Jews had a horror of corpses and human remains, such things would not have been tolerated near a public thoroughfare and the tomb of a pious Jew. Some early commentators refer to the Jewish legend that the head of Adam, the first of the human race, was buried there.[4] Tertullian is the earliest Christian writer who refers to the Jewish tradition; he writes: "Our forefathers told us that a large skull was found here; we received a tradition that the first man was buried here." A good many of the Fathers identify the place of crucifixion with Adam's tomb. Epiphanius not only asserts that our Lord's place of execution was called Golgotha, the place of a skull, because Adam was buried there, but he explicitly denies that the name was in any way connected with the configuration of the locality. According to a tradition to which much weight must be attached, although it was questioned by a few writers in the eighteenth century, and has been recently contested with all the force of scientific research, the present Church of the Holy Sepulchre stands on the site of Golgotha and contains within itself the holy places where our Lord was crucified and buried. We cannot believe that the early Christions would have failed to commemorate these sacred spots, since Christ's death on the cross and His triumphant resur-

[1] Matthew xxvii. 39.
[2] Compare Sylveira, viii. 12, 1. Mommert, *l. c.* 21–36.
[3] St. Jerome, Bede, and Jansenius.
[4] Tertull. Adv. Marc.; Orig. Tract. 35 in Marc.; Cypr. (de resurrectione Christi): *Nos ad Christum pertinentes, cuius sanguine creditur Adam calvaria, qui sub loco, quo crux domini fixa erat humatus creditur ab antiquis;* Athanas. (de passione Salv.); Epiphanius (Haer. 46, 5); Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustinus.

rection are events that lie at the very root of Christianity. Their position could easily be ascertained from our Lord's mother, St. John, and the pious women who were present at the crucifixion, as well as from Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus, who buried Jesus, and from the many disciples who visited His tomb. That the places where Christ was crucified and buried were known with precision by Christians in the first century is an assumption based on strong *a priori* evidence, and supported by St. Cyril of Jerusalem (315–386 A.D.), who writes: "It is not only now, but from that time [i.e., the time of the apostles Peter, Andrew, and John] that a multitude of strangers have begun to assemble here."[1] These words must refer to an unbroken series of pilgrimages to the holy places, and the pilgrims undoubtedly preserved the tradition regarding their positions; there is no ground at all for supposing that all knowledge of the locality was lost in consequence of the wars between Jews and Romans. The absence of Christians from Jerusalem lasted a very short time, and even then the Emperor Hadrian himself took a step which preserved exact knowledge of the holy places, in spite of the changes resulting from the devastation caused by the war and the consequent erection of new buildings. Eusebius[2] tells us that Hadrian erected a temple of Venus on this sacred site, thus preventing its being forgotten. Constantine the Great, and his mother Helena, caused the idolatrous statues to be removed, and the soil excavated, and thus the holy sepulchre and our Lord's cross were discovered. It is an undeniable fact that both built Christian churches on the sites thus revealed, namely, a rotunda, known as the Anastasis, over our Lord's sepulchre, and a basilica, called the Martyrion, at the place where the cross had stood. These churches were more than once pulled down and rebuilt. At the time of the crusades they formed one large church, which in its essentials still exists.

The accuracy of this tradition was challenged by a few writers of earlier date, but it was not until the nineteenth century that any serious attempt was made to disprove it. A short survey of the literature dealing with this subject is given by Dr. Karl Zimmermann in a volume containing maps and plans

[1] Catech. 17, 16.

[2] Vita Constant. 3, 25.

of the ancient city of Jerusalem. He enables us to form a clear idea of the debated points, for on one of his plates he gives in tabular form the opinions of sixteen scholars regarding the topography of Jerusalem in our Lord's time. Edward Robinson, an American scholar, in the third volume of his famous work on Palestine,[1] regrets the ancient tradition, and tries to prove that the site of the present Church of the Holy Sepulchre was, at the time of the crucifixion, regarded as part of the actual city, whereas Holy Scripture tells us that our Lord was put to death and buried outside the city. In consequence of an attack made upon him by Dr. Alexander, chaplain to the Anglican Bishop of Jerusalem, Robinson made the following definite statement: "The second wall must have run considerably to the west of the Sepulchre."[2] He discusses the matter very fully in his account of his second journey in Palestine (1852) and displays great erudition in the attempt to prove his point.

The question regarding the authenticity of the site of the church is connected with a further question regarding the so-called second wall of Jerusalem, which, according to Josephus,[3] began at the Gennath Gate and in the time of Christ enclosed the lower city on the west and north, running either east or west of the present church. From the standpoint of purely scientific investigation this question cannot be answered conclusively until the foundations of the ancient city have been definitely ascertained by means of careful excavations, such as became possible only after the Crimean War. Konrad Schick, an architect from Württemberg, has done valuable work in exploring the original site of Jerusalem, and so far the results of his investigations tend to confirm rather than to overthrow the ecclesiastical tradition concerning the holy places. He comes to the conclusion that the third wall, built by Herod Agrippa, may probably be identified with the present city wall, and among others the French Academician and Senator de Saulcy take the same view. Jerusalem seems to have extended westwards, so that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, situated originally between the second and third walls, was eventually included in the city. Excavations near it have resulted in the discovery of some

[1] Biblical Researches in Palestine, ed. 2.
[2] *Op. cit.* vol. iii. p. 255.
[3] B. J. V. 4, 2.

ancient tombs, and this is in itself evidence that human habitations cannot have stood there until a later period. Topographical investigation has shown that a great many remains of ancient houses existed to the east but not to the west of the church, and this fact seems to justify the inference that the church, with its holy places, was situated to the west of the second wall, which in the time of our Lord ran round Jerusalem on the northern and western sides. The old tradition of the Church is upheld therefore by many scholars, Protestant as well as Catholic. Socinus, one of the greatest authorities on Palestine at the present day, says that he is not yet in a position to express a decided opinion on this question, but is inclined to accept the tradition of the Church.

The procession at last reached Calvary, at the spot where, according to an already mentioned old Jewish tradition, Adam was buried.[1] Before a death sentence was carried out, it was usual among the Jews to give the condemned man some kind of narcotic, that he might suffer less pain. Women of the nobility used to prepare and supply this narcotic, thus showing their sympathy with those about to die. The drink consisted generally of wine in which grains of incense were dissolved. It is believed that the custom originated in connection with Prov. xxxi. 6, 7: "Give strong drink to them that are sad, and wine to them that are grieved in mind, let them drink and forget their want, and remember their sorrow no more." St. Matthew and St. Mark tell us that a draught of this kind was offered to our divine Saviour when He reached Calvary; it consisted of wine, not of vinegar, mixed with gall, or, according to St. Mark, with myrrh. It is easy to reconcile the two statements. The word for gall in both Greek and Latin bears the extended signification of bitterness, therefore we may understand St. Matthew to say that the wine was mixed with a bitter fluid, and St. Mark defines this fluid as an infusion of myrrh, or else the wine may have been mixed with myrrh and the juice of other bitter plants. We must distinguish this draught from that offered to Jesus while hanging on the cross. In all probability the first narcotic drink was given Him by the pious women, but

[1] Orig. in Matthew: *venit enim ad me traditio quaedam talis, quod corpus Adami primi hominis ibi sepultum est, ubi crucifixus est Christus, ut sicut in Adamo omnes moriuntur, sic in Christo omnes vivificentur.*

after taking a little of it, He refused to drink it, because He wished to retain full consciousness and to drain to the dregs the agony of death on the cross.

II. The Crucifixion and Death of Christ

Matthew xxvii. 35–50

35. And after they had crucified him, they divided his garments, casting lots; that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, saying: They divided my garments among them, and upon my vesture they cast lots.

36. And they sat and watched him.

37. And they put over his head his cause written: This is Jesus the King of the Jews.

38. Then were crucified with him two thieves: one on the right hand, and one on the left.

39. And they that passed by blasphemed him, wagging their heads.

40. And saying: Vah, thou that destroyest the temple of God and in three days dost rebuild it; save thy own self: if thou be the Son of God, come down from the cross.

41. In like manner also the chief priests with the scribes and ancients mocking said:

42. He saved others; himself he cannot save: if he be the king of Israel, let him now come down from the cross, and we will believe him.

43. He trusted in God; let him now deliver him, if he will have him: for he said: I am the Son of God.

44. And the self-same thing the thieves also, that were crucified with him, approached him with.

45. Now from the sixth hour there was darkness over the whole earth, until the ninth hour.

46. And about the ninth hour Jesus cried with a loud voice saying: Eli, Eli, lamma sabacthani? that is, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?

47. And some that stood there and heard said: This man calleth Elias.

48. And immediately one of them running, took a sponge, and filled it with vinegar; and put it on a reed, and gave him to drink.

49. And the others said: Let be, let us see whether Elias will come to deliver him.

50. And Jesus again crying with a loud voice, yielded up the ghost.

Mark xv. 24–31

24. And crucifying him, they divided his garments, casting lots upon them, what every man should take.

25. And it was the third hour, and they crucified him.

26. And the inscription of his cause was written over: The King of the Jews.

27. And with him they crucify two thieves, the one on his right hand and the other on his left.

28. And the Scripture was fulfilled which saith: And with the wicked he was reputed.

29. And they that passed by, blasphemed him, wagging their heads and saying: Vah: thou that destroyest the temple of God, and in three days buildest it up again:

30. Save thyself, coming down from the cross.

31. In like manner also the chief priests mocking said with the

Mark xv. 32–37

scribes one to another: He saved others, himself he cannot save.

32. Let Christ the king of Israel come down now from the cross, that we may see and believe. And they that were crucified with him, reviled him.

33. And when the sixth hour was come, there was darkness over the whole earth until the ninth hour.

34. And at the ninth hour, Jesus cried out with a loud voice, saying: Eloi, Eloi, lamma sabacthani? Which is, being interpreted: My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?

35. And some of the standers-by hearing, said: Behold he calleth Elias.

36. And one running and filling a sponge with vinegar, and putting it upon a reed, gave him to drink, saying: Stay, let us see if Elias come to take him down.

37. And Jesus having cried out with a loud voice, gave up the ghost,

Luke xxiii. 33–46

33. And when they were come to the place which is called Calvary, they crucified him there, and the robbers, one on the right hand and the other on the left.

34. And Jesus said: Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do. But they dividing his garments, cast lots.

35. And the people stood beholding, and the rulers with them derided him, saying: He saved others, let him save himself, if he be Christ, the elect of God.

36. And the soldiers also mocked him, coming to him, and offering him vinegar,

37. And saying: If thou be the king of the Jews, save thyself.

38. And there was also a superscription written over him in letters of Greek, and Latin, and Hebrew: This is the King of the Jews.

39. And one of those robbers who were hanged, blasphemed him, saying: If thou be Christ, save thyself, and us.

40. But the other answering rebuked him, saying: Neither dost thou fear God, seeing thou art under the same condemnation?

41. And we indeed justly, for we receive the due reward of our deeds: but this man hath done no evil.

42. And he said to Jesus: Lord, remember me when thou shalt come into thy kingdom.

43. And Jesus said to him: Amen I say to thee, this day thou shalt be with me in paradise.

44. And it was almost the sixth hour; and there was darkness over all the earth until the ninth hour.

45. And the sun was darkened; and the veil of the temple was rent in the midst.

46. And Jesus crying with a loud voice said: Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit. And saying this he gave up the ghost.

John xix. 18–21

18. Where they crucified him, and with him two others, one on each side, and Jesus in the midst.

19. And Pilate wrote a title also: and he put it upon the cross. And the writing was, Jesus of Nazareth the King of the Jews.

20. This title therefore many of the Jews did read: because the place where Jesus was crucified was nigh to the city: and it was written in Hebrew, in Greek, and in Latin.

21. Then the chief priests of the Jews said to Pilate: Write not, the

JOHN xix. 22–30

king of the Jews; but that he said: I am the king of the Jews.

22. Pilate answered: What I have written, I have written.

23. The soldiers therefore when they had crucified him, took his garments (and they made four parts, to every soldier a part) and also his coat. Now the coat was without seam, woven from the top throughout.

24. They said then one to another: Let us not cut it, but let us cast lots for it whose it shall be; that the scripture might be fulfilled, saying: They have parted my garments among them: and upon my vesture they have cast lot. And the soldiers indeed did these things.

25. Now there stood by the cross of Jesus, his mother, and his mother's sister, Mary of Cleophas, and Mary Magdalen.

26. When Jesus therefore had seen his mother and the disciple standing, whom he loved, he saith to his mother: Woman, behold thy son.

27. After that, he saith to the disciple: Behold thy mother. And from that hour the disciple took her to his own.

28. Afterwards Jesus knowing that all things were now accomplished, that the scripture might be fulfilled, said: I thirst.

29. Now there was a vessel set there full of vinegar. And they putting a sponge full of vinegar about hyssop, put it to his mouth.

30. Jesus therefore when he had taken the vinegar, said: It is consummated. And bowing his head, he gave up the ghost.

Crucifixion as a death penalty. Crucifixion, which as we have seen was a pagan, and not a Jewish mode of execution, consisted in hanging a condemned criminal to a cross, there to die a lingering and agonizing death. Crucifixion must be distinguished from hanging on a gibbet, which is mentioned in the Law of Moses.[1] In certain cases the bodies of those who had been stoned to death or slain by the sword were hung up on a gibbet and left there until the evening, in order that spectators might be filled with horror and deterred from similar crimes. We hear of crucifixion first as practised by the barbarous Scythians, and later it was adopted by the Assyrians, Medes, and Persians, then by the Carthaginians, and from them by the Romans in the fourth, or perhaps the third, century B.C. According to Cicero,[2] crucifixion was a most cruel and horrible form of punishment, which as a rule was inflicted only on criminals of the lowest class and slaves, and consequently the crucifixion of a Roman citizen was regarded as something so outrageous that no words could be found to describe its ignominy. The crosses used were not always of the same form, nor was the penalty invariably inflicted in the same manner.

[1] Deut. xxi. 21–23.

[2] In Verr. v. 64.

The form and size of our Lord's cross. According to the Fathers and to universal tradition, our Lord's cross was the so-called four-armed cross, the upright protruding somewhat over the transverse beam. Lipsius called this kind of cross the *crux immissa*. We may refer to two witnesses on this subject. Justin Martyr writes: *rectum enim unum lignum est, a quo summa pars in cornu attollitur, quum adaptatum fuerit aliud lignum, et utrimque extrema vel cornua uni cornui adjuncta, apparuerint; et quod in medio figitur, in quo vehuntur qui crucifiguntur, ipsum quoque velut cornu eminet et cornus speciem exhibet cum aliis cornibus conformatum et fixum.*[1] St. Irenaeus writes: "The shape of the cross, too, has five distinct and chief points, — two in its length, two in its breadth, and one in the middle, — upon which rests the person crucified."[2] Our belief that this was the shape of our Lord's cross is strengthened by the fact that the Fathers and many early writers compare His cross with Moses, praying with outstretched arms, also with human beings, capable of walking upright and of extending their hands, and with a man swimming, or a bird flying. The circumstance of the inscription on the cross, of which we shall speak further on, shows that it must have had four arms. The argument that a T-shaped cross would have been lighter to carry and more quickly made is not sufficient to overthrow the old tradition. If our Lord had carried only the transverse beam and not the whole cross, it might be possible to urge that His cross was probably, though not certainly, of a T shape.

Crosses were as a rule of no great height, and a high cross was exceptional. Eusebius has preserved the Acts of the heroic martyr Blandina, who, when crucified, was near enough to the ground for wild beasts to reach her.[3] A very clear indication of the height of our Lord's cross is supplied by the fact that soldiers raised a sponge to His mouth by means of a branch of hyssop a foot or a foot and a half in length, consequently the cross could not have been above ten feet high. It is generally represented as much higher, but this is due to a desire to render it more conspicuous, because it is the symbol of our faith.

Our Lord carried the whole cross, and not only the transverse beam. All the four evangelists lay stress upon His bearing the "cross," and both ecclesiastical and profane writers tell us that at the time of Christ and long

[1] Dial. cum Tryph. 91. [2] Adv. haer. II, 24, 4. [3] H. E. 5, 2.

afterwards condemned criminals were forced to carry the entire cross to the place of execution. The grammarian Nonius Marcellus has preserved a fragment of Plautus: *patibulum ferat per urbem, deinde affigatur cruci,* and these words have led Professor Cobet, a Dutch philologist of Leyden, to maintain that criminals never carried the whole cross but only the transverse beam, known as the *patibulum,* and that this is what Christ carried to Calvary, where it was fastened to an upright beam that had served for previous executions at the same spot.[1] In answer to this theory we may point out that the fragment of Plautus, in which a distinction is drawn between *patibulum* and *crux,* dates from at least two hundred years before our Lord's death, and therefore cannot possibly be quoted to prove that at a much later period criminals were required to carry only a portion of the cross. From the time of Cicero onwards *patibulum* was used in Latin as a synonym with *crux,* so that, even if the Greek σταυρός had been rendered in the Vulgate by *patibulum,* we should still be unable to say with certainty that Jesus carried only the transverse beam. The word in the Vulgate is *crux,* which designates the whole cross, and Tertullian, too, says that Christ bore the *crux,*[2] and goes on to compare Him with Isaac carrying the wood to the place of sacrifice.[3] This parallel certainly seems to show that Tertullian believed our Lord to have borne the whole cross. That our Saviour would have been too weak to carry it after undergoing so severe a scourging is an argument of no great weight, because, as has already been said, His cross was not large.

Christ is fastened to the cross. When the procession reached Golgotha, the cross intended for our Lord was taken from Simon of Cyrene and set upright in the earth. Our Saviour was either hoisted to the cross with ropes, or He was made to climb a ladder and was then placed by the soldiers on what was called the seat. This was a piece of wood projecting from about the middle of the upright beam. It facilitated the process of nailing the condemned criminal to the cross, and also served as a support, preventing the full weight of the body from hanging from the hands. That such a seat was present on our Lord's cross appears from the passages already quoted from Justin Martyr and St. Irenaeus. The person to be crucified was in the first instance fastened to the cross by ropes. Profane writers speak of ropes used at crucifixions, and Christians refer more definitely to them. In particular St. Hilary of Poitiers, who has left us a very detailed description of Christ's crucifixion, speaks of the wounds caused by knots in the ropes.[4]

After our Lord's body was securely bound to the cross, He was moreover nailed to it. The Latin word meaning "to cru-

[1] Mnemosyne (a review published in Leyden), vol. viii, p. 276.
[2] Adv. Jud. 10; De carne Christi, 5.
[3] Gen. xxii. 6.
[4] De Trinitate, 10, 13.

cify" and the reports of early authors make it quite certain that large nails were driven through both hands and feet, and there is no evidence at all to support the ascertion that the hands alone were nailed, and the feet merely bound. On the contrary, the testimony of the earliest ecclesiastical writers prove conclusively that our Lord's hands and feet were nailed to the cross,[1] as had been foretold by the prophet,[2] and as is quite evident from St. Luke's gospel (xxiv. 39, 40), where our Lord's words and actions show plainly that on His feet as well as on His hands were wounds caused by the nails. There is some doubt whether each foot was nailed separately, or whether the feet were crossed and pierced with one large nail. In the earliest pictures of the crucifixion our Saviour's feet are nailed side by side, and are often represented as resting on some kind of support.

On pictures of the crucifixion, dating from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, our Lord is often depicted as being nailed to a cross laid flat on the ground, and then lifted up with it. The majority of commentators, however, think that there is no justification for believing that crucifixion was performed thus, and, as we have already seen, the ordinary technical expressions fail to support this theory. Friedrich attempts to prove that as a rule persons condemned to crucifixion were nailed to the cross as it lay on the ground, although in cases where the victim did not carry his cross to the place of execution, but found it already in position, he was nailed to the upright cross. He maintains: (1) that the technical expressions for "to crucify" are no less applicable to the process of nailing to a recumbent than to an upright cross; (2) that the cross carried by Christ must have been comparatively small, and consequently incapable of supporting the weight of three ladders and three human beings; (3) that in the Acts of the martyrdom of Pionius, preserved by the Bollandists, we read how Pionius was nailed to a recumbent cross, and then raised on it: *cum igitur ligno suffixum erexerunt.* The majority of scholars, however, are probably correct in believing this mode of crucifixion to have been very exceptional.

The inscription upon our Lord's cross. After Jesus had been nailed to the cross, the so-called title (*titulus*) was fastened to it above His head. It was a white tablet, on which the reason for His condemnation was written in black letters. According to Roman custom the reason for a death sentence was always published, sometimes by a herald's proclamation, sometimes by means of a white tablet bearing a suitable inscription, which

[1] Tertull. Adv. Marc. 3, 19; Hilary, Tract in Ps. cxliii; August, Tract 37 in Joann., in psalm 39.
[2] Ps. xxi. 17.

was either hung round the condemned person's neck, or carried in front of him by his executioners. The tablet fastened to our Lord's cross bore the words, "JESUS OF NAZARETH, KING OF THE JEWS," and St. John tells us that they were written in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. Both in its form and contents this inscription may be inscribed to the action of divine Providence. It stated that Jesus, the Son of Mary, known as the Nazarene because His early years had been spent in humility and poverty in the unimportant town of Nazareth, was the King of the Jews, and for this reason had been condemned to death. The wording of the inscription was intended partly as a justification of the Roman procurator's action in confirming the death sentence, and partly as a serious charge against the Jewish officials. The latter realized this fact, and, as St. John tells us, requested Pilate to alter the inscription, and to call Jesus the "alleged" or "self-styled" King of the Jews. This request was curtly refused, and so, by divine ordinance, the inscription, written by the Roman governor, proclaimed to the whole world the fact that the crucified Jesus was the Messiah promised to the Jews. Moreover, the proclamation was made in three languages, — in Hebrew, the sacred language of the Jews, because the Messiah belonged to their nation; in Greek, which was universally spoken, and which was used in preaching to mankind the first tidings of salvation, and in Latin, the official language of the Roman Empire, which facilitated the missionary labors of the apostles by serving as a means of intercommunication between various nations. God ordained that Jews, Greeks, and Romans should co-operate, each after their own fashion, in bringing about the fullness of time[1] when the Messiah should appear, and, therefore, it was in these three languages that the great truth was first proclaimed: Christ crucified is the power of God and the wisdom of God to all who believe.[2]

According to St. John Chrysostom[3] and Sozomenus[4] this *titulus* was found when St. Helena discovered our Lord's cross in 326 A.D. It lay apart from the three crosses, but evidently fitted one better than the others, and all doubt as to which was the true cross was removed by the restoration of health to a sick woman who touched it. According to an ancient tradition this tablet was afterwards taken to Rome, and is still preserved there in the Church of Santa Croce. For a long time no one knew where it

[1] Gal. iv. 4.
[2] 1 Cor. i. 23, 24.
[3] Hom. 84, in Joann.
[4] H. E. 2, 1.

was kept, but in 1492 it was discovered during a restoration of the church undertaken by Cardinal de Mendoza, Primate of Toledo. It lay in a leaden case, closed with three seals of wax, each of which bore the portrait of a cardinal and the inscription *Gerardus Card. S. Crucis.* It is believed that this must have been the cardinal who was afterwards Pope Lucius III. The case containing the *titulus* was built into a recess in the wall, and the stone that closed the recess bore on its inner side the words *Titulus Crucis.* The relic itself is a wooden tablet, on which only a few inscribed words and letters can be seen; the tablet itself bears every mark of authenticity, but the letters upon it belong probably to a later date. There are two reasons for believing them to be less ancient than the wood: the original inscription was certainly written, as there was no time for carving, and also the form of the script indicates that it is of later origin.

The partition of our Lord's garments. It was a Roman custom for men condemned to crucifixion to be stripped and nailed naked to the cross, their garments being the perquisite of the executioners. This custom was observed in the case of our Lord. Allusion to it is made by Artemidorus, a contemporary of Hadrian, in his *Oneirokritika,*[1] a work in which he defends the practice of interpreting dreams. He writes in a frivolous manner: "To be crucified is a piece of good luck for a poor man, inasmuch as it exalts him, but for a rich man it is a misfortune, since he is crucified naked." The evangelists tell us that our Saviour's garments were taken from Him and divided among the soldiers. The question whether Jesus was absolutely naked or was allowed to retain a loin-cloth is answered in different ways by writers, both ancient and recent. Not only in the Bible, but also in the works of Greek and Latin classical authors,[2] the word "naked" is used of one who is clad either very scantily, or simply with one undergarment,[3] and consequently it is possible that our Lord retained His loin-cloth, especially as the Jews had a great horror of nakedness, and women were present at the crucifixion. On the other hand it must be admitted that He was executed as a common criminal, and therefore was unlikely to receive any consideration from the rough soldiery. In the Acts of Pilate[4] He is represented as wearing a cloth round His loins, and in the earliest pictures of the crucifixion He invariably wears either a narrow cloth or a long tunic reaching from His neck to His feet, but leaving His arms bare.

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[1] 2, 61.
[2] John xxi. 7; Dion. Hal. 1, 83; Vergil, Georg. I, 299.
[3] Acts xix. 16; James ii. 15.
[4] A. x; compare Tisch. 246.

The two thieves are invariably depicted with loin-cloths. A further question is whether Jesus still wore the crown of thorns while hanging on the cross. The evangelists tell us that the scarlet cloak was removed before He set out on His way to Golgotha, but as there is no mention of the crown of thorns, Tertullian,[1] Origen,[2] and most early commentators assume that our Lord continued to wear it on His way to execution and on the cross. There is an explicit statement to this effect in the Acts of Pilate.[3] On the other hand, hardly one of the early representations of the crucifixion (fifth to seventh century) shows either the crown of thorns or a royal crown, although the latter occurs frequently at a subsequent period. The distribution of our Lord's garments among the Roman soldiers is recorded by all the evangelists, most briefly by St. Luke and most fully by St. John. Our knowledge of the clothing usually worn by the Jews allows us to assume that our Lord's garments consisted of a kind of cloak worn by day as an upper garment and also serving, in the case of the poor, as a covering by night, an undergarment resembling a shirt, and the coat woven in one piece, unless, indeed, our Lord wore this instead of the usual Jewish undergarment. Besides these articles of clothing, He wore a loin-cloth and sandals. The four Roman soldiers who crucified Him divided His raiment into four portions, but the evangelists do not agree as to the mode of division, for in the synoptic gospels we read that the clothes were divided by lot, whereas St. John says that the four soldiers each received a share and cast lots only for the seamless coat. Most commentators think that this coat was the only garment for which lots were cast,[4] but this restriction of the casting of lots involves some difficulties. St. John says that they made four parts, to every soldier a part, and then goes on to speak of the seamless coat, and to state that the soldiers decided by lot whose it should be. This account does not preclude the possibility that lots were cast also for the four parts into which our Lord's other garments were divided; in fact St. Mark seems to imply that lots were cast for each share of them, for he says that the soldiers cast lots to decide, not *who* should have any particular garment, but *what* every man should take. St. Augustine points

[1] Adv. Jul. 13. [2] Hom. 35 in Matthew.
[3] A. x. 1; Tisch. 246; and B. x. 2; Tisch. 303. [4] August., Mald., and others.

out St. Mark's statement,[1] but decides in favor of the contrary opinion, but his further explanation of St. Mark's words is somewhat forced. If we compare St. John's account about our Lord's coat, as distinguished from the other garments, with St. Mark's account of the manner in which all clothes were distributed, we may conclude that in all probability our Lord's entire clothing was disposed of by lot, and that St. John wishes to lay stress, not on the fact that lots were cast for the seamless coat, but rather on its being undivided. Both St. John and St. Matthew (unless in the case of the latter the remark is an explanation) point out that a Messianic prophecy was fulfilled when lots were cast for our Lord's garments. Psalm xxi (xxii) is certainly Messianic, and when David says, "They parted my garments among them, and upon my vesture they cast lots," he represented the Messiah as already on the cross, and his clothing as ownerless.

St. John calls our Lord's seamless coat a χιτών, which is the word generally used in the New Testament to designate the sort of shirt worn by the Jews. It was worn next to the skin, reached from the neck to the ankles and was kept in place with a girdle, which enabled it to be tucked up when the wearer was walking or working. It usually was made of woollen or cotton stuff, but our Lord's χιτών was, as St. John says, without seam, woven from the top throughout. Among the ancients the weavers were more skilful than those of the present day, and could produce seamless garments. Jewish priests were in the habit of wearing a seamless garment, of which Flavius Josephus gives a short description,[2] and this enables us to determine approximately the shape of our Lord's coat. It was long and close fitting, with narrow sleeves and an opening at the neck, which could be drawn tight or left loose by means of a string. In all probability our Lord wore this coat under the usual undergarment worn by the Jews, not instead of it. The reasons for assuming this to have been the case are two in number, viz., St. John speaks of the other garments in the plural, and the fact that they could be divided into four parts. According to tradition St. Helena presented the Holy Coat to the city of Trèves, where it is preserved in the Cathedral, and has been periodically exposed to view ever since the close of the twelfth century. Dr. C. Willems has in an archaeological and historical dissertation on the Holy Coat at Trèves embodied the report of a commission of experts who in 1890 examined this coat. They declared as the result of their examination that the brownish texture of the Holy Coat consisted apparently of linen or cotton. Our Lord's seamless coat is often regarded as a symbol of the inseparability of

[1] Tract. in Joann. 118, 3: *Marcus solus videtur aliquam intulisse quaestionem, dicendo enim: mittentes sortem super eis, quis quid tolleret, tanquam super omnibus vestimentis, non super sola tunica sors missa sit, locutus videtur.*

[2] Ant. iii. 7, 2.

charity toward God and toward our neighbor, as well as the unity of our faith and of the Church.

The first word on the cross. St. Luke alone records that our Saviour said, "Father forgive them, for they know not what they do." Amid His excruciating sufferings He besought pardon for the Jewish nation that had brought about His crucifixion, and thus our Lord displayed in the highest degree that love of enemies that He required of His followers.[1] He prayed not only for the ignorant and misled populace,[2] but also for the Sanhedrists who urged His death. Of course when Jesus in His infinite love and mercy asked forgiveness for His fellow countrymen, the fulfillment of his request was contingent upon their recognition of, and repentance for, their sin. Our Saviour stated as the reason for His prayer, that the Jews did not know what a crime they were committing. Both St. Peter[3] and St. Paul[4] declared, in extenuation of the horrible sin committed by the Jews and their leaders, that they acted in ignorance. But their ignorance was due to their own false ideas regarding the Messiah, their intense hatred of Jesus, and their stubbornness of heart in rejecting His doctrine, as well as the testimony of His miracles and His whole ministry, in which He aimed solely at promoting God's glory and the salvation of mankind. The Jews were to blame for their ignorance: they did not clearly perceive what they were doing when they effected our Lord's crucifixion, but they might, and indeed ought to have known the truth, for they were acquainted with the prophecies regarding the Messiah, and Jesus had borne testimony to Himself, both by word and deed. Our Lord Himself said that they had no excuse for their sin in not knowing Him.[5] The Jews had failed fully to recognize the truth, but they could now no longer shut their eyes to it if they appreciated in the least the wonderful signs that accompanied our Lord's death, and were susceptible for the power to transform mankind that proceeded from the cross of Christ. He had pointed out the significance of these things long before He died,[6] and when He interceded for the Jews He had in view this particular time of mercy, and prayed that God would allow the light of grace to shine upon

[1] Matthew v. 44.
[2] Lyranus and others.
[3] Acts iii. 17.
[4] Acts xiii. 27; 1 Cor. ii. 8.
[5] John xv. 22.
[6] John viii. 28, 29.

them in their sin, so that, if they were not wholly hardened in wickedness, they might realize its enormity, repent, and be converted. Although the great majority of the Jews persisted in their sins, our Lord's prayer was not left unheard. The Fathers regard the conversion of the thousands of Jews, recorded in the Acts of the Apostles,[1] as also the postponement of the destruction of Jerusalem, whereby further opportunity for repentance was given, as direct results of Christ's intercession.

Our Saviour is taunted and insulted while hanging on the cross. The excessive physical suffering caused Jesus by His crucifixion was aggravated by the ridicule hurled at our Lord from all sides. To this fact allusion is made by the synoptic writers alone: St. Matthew and St. Mark speak of the mockery of Jesus by the people and Sanhedrists, St. Luke describes more in detail the blasphemous words uttered by one of His fellow-sufferers, and he alone mentions the taunts of the Roman soldiers. All three evangelists tell us that the people derided our Lord; St. Matthew and St. Mark speak especially of those passing by the place of execution, who "wagged their heads and blasphemed Him." As we have already seen, it was usual for a criminal to be crucified in a place visible from some considerable distance, or near a frequented thoroughfare. The wagging of the head on part of the passers-by indicated their contempt for the suffering Saviour and their gratification at seeing Him in so pitiable a situation. Their language expressed the same bitter scorn and mockery as did their gestures, and we cannot but infer that they were already well informed as to the whole course of our Lord's trial before the Sanhedrists, for they quoted the words of the false witnesses, and used Christ's testimony to Himself as a reason for ridiculing His divine power and His claim to be the Son of God. That the Sanhedrists joined in mocking Him was a matter of course: St. Matthew mentions all the three classes composing the Sanhedrin, St. Mark speaks only of the chief priests and scribes, while St. Luke sums them up briefly under the name of "rulers." Regarding the manner, too, in which Jesus was mocked by the Sanhedrists, the most precise information is given by St. Matthew, who tells us that they jeered at our Lord's miraculous powers, representing them

[1] Acts ii. 41; iv. 1.

as fictitious, because He could not save Himself. Moreover, they scornfully declared that His present condition proved His claim to the Messianic kingship to be unworthy of credence. St. Matthew has preserved the very words in which they ridiculed our Saviour's claim to be the Son of God: "He trusted in God, let him now deliver him, if he will have him, for he said: I am the Son of God." Unconsciously, but by divine ordinance, the Sanhedrists quoted an unmistakably Messianic Psalm,[1] thus proving by word and deed that they themselves were the ungodly men described by David, who was divinely inspired. Of the evangelists St. Luke alone tells us that the Roman soldiers joined in this chorus of ridicule, and offered Jesus some of their sour wine, thus showing their disdain for His alleged kingly dignity. It should, however, be noticed that, according to most commentators, St. Luke is here not recording a distinct incident, but is anticipating what, in the accounts of the other evangelists, occurred later.

The two thieves. The second word on the cross. Two criminals were crucified, either at the same time as our Saviour, or immediately afterwards. All the four evangelists tell us that one was on the right, the other on the left of our Lord; St. John says that Jesus was "in the midst." These apparently unimportant details are emphasized thus because they were the outcome of both divine and human intention. The Jews wished Jesus to be crucified between two malefactors in order that He, too, might appear to be a great criminal, and God ordained that He should occupy this position in order that the prophecy, "he was reputed with the wicked," [2] should be fulfilled, and also to give visible illustration of the truth that salvation through the Messiah had been revealed in the midst of sinners. St. Luke lays more stress than the other evangelists upon the truth that the mission of the Messiah was due to God's infinite mercy toward sinful men, who can participate in salvation only when they repent and forsake sin, and cling to Christ in faith. Consequently, with a view to illustrating this truth by a concrete example, St. Luke gives a detailed account of the two thieves on the cross, whereas St. Matthew and St. Mark only remark in general terms that the malefactors crucified with Jesus joined

[1] xxi. 9. [2] Ps. liii. 12.

in reviling Him. Hence many commentators, and especially early Greek writers, assume that the thief on our Lord's right hand began abusing Him and afterwards repented; probably, however, the plural is only generic and applies strictly to one of the thieves, viz., to the one on our Lord's left, who, according to St. Luke, reviled Jesus in language resembling that employed by the people, the Sanhedrists, and the soldiers. He ridiculed Jesus for being merely a pretended Messiah, and called upon Him to use His power and to save both Himself and His fellow sufferers. This insulting language elicited from the other thief words addressed partly to his former comrade and partly to our Saviour. He rebuked sharply the thief at our Lord's left, and then went on to make a frank confession of guilt, and to express deep contrition and detestation for his past sins. The words that he addressed to Jesus show his faith in our Lord's kingly dignity and contain a humble prayer for pardon. In the Greek text the rebuke administered to the thief on our Lord's left (Luke xxiii. 40) does not mean quite the same as in the Latin. The translation of the Greek is, "Hast thou no fear at all of God?" the stress being on the word "fear." The translation of the Latin is, "Hast not thou any fear of God?" the stress being on the pronoun "thou." The Greek version seems preferable, when considered together with the context, "seeing thou art under the same condemnation." The penitent thief means to say to his impenitent fellow culprit: "Think of the miserable plight to which thy misdeeds have brought thee, and if that be not enough to make thee repent, have at least some fear of the punishment which will be inflicted by the just God, before whose tribunal thou art about to appear." The Vulgate reading may be paraphrased as follows: "Although the crowd surrounding the cross has no fear of God, yet such should not be the case with thee, since thou art about to die and to appear before the judgment-seat." The penitent thief gave two reasons for condemning the abuse of Jesus, viz., that they were undergoing the same punishment, and that He was innocent while they were guilty. This thief perceived and acknowledged the enormity of his own sins, and confessed that his painful and humiliating penalty was only what he deserved,[1] and, having made this frank

[1] Jansenius: *peccati agnitio et confessio et justae poenae approbatio.*

profession of contrition, he turned to our Saviour with a prayer for mercy. His words are expressive of his extreme modesty and of his firm confidence in Jesus, whom he acknowledged as Lord and King.[1] Here, as in other passages in St. Luke's gospel, the word "Lord" is used absolutely to designate the dominion belonging to Jesus, in virtue of which He is the Ruler of men, who owe obedience to Him as well as to God the Father.[2] This interpretation of the thief's form of address is borne out by Ps. cix. 1, which is Messianic, and also by the words that follow it: "Remember me when thou shalt come into thy kingdom." This can be understood only of a heavenly kingdom, of which Jesus is represented as Lord. In His reply our Saviour spoke as the Lord and King of the Messianic kingdom, who not only was able to grant the request made to Him, but who actually granted more than was asked. He solemnly promised the thief, "This day thou shalt be with me in Paradise," i.e., in the abode of the righteous under the old dispensation. This is the second word uttered on the cross by our merciful Saviour, and it is full of consolation to frail and sinful men.

In an Itala manuscript belonging to the eleventh century and now kept in Paris, the name of the penitent thief is given as Zoatham, and of the other as Camma or Chammatha.[3] In the apocryphal *Acta Pilati*[4] the former is called Dysmas (in the Latin text Dismas) and the latter Gestas or Gistas. Two manuscripts of the same apocryphal work[5] contain an account of how the robber Dysmas met the Holy Family on their flight into Egypt. Struck by the beauty of Mary, who carried her divine Child in her arms, he fell on his knees and exclaimed, "Had God a mother, I must needs say thou art she." He offered hospitality to the Holy Family in his own house, and commended them to the care of his wife, while he himself went out to hunt. During his absence his son was cured from leprosy, through being washed in the water in which Jesus had been bathed. So great was his gratitude that he had a profound respect for Mary, and assisted her on her journey to Egypt. On her return, too, he helped her in every possible way, and she blessed him and promised that he would be rewarded for the service that he had rendered her. This promise was fulfilled, for the writer concludes the story with the words: "For this reason, through the grace of our merciful God and His Mother, he was deemed worthy to suffer martyrdom on the cross at the same time as Christ." The same story occurs under a somewhat different form in the Arabic gospel of the Childhood of

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[1] Mald. and Jansenius.
[2] Mald.: *paucis verbis et regem et Deum Christum confitetur.*
[3] Compare Tisch., ed. viii. in Matthew xxvii. 38; Marc. xv. 27.
[4] A. x; compare Tisch. 247.
[5] Tisch. Evang. apocr. 308 *seqq.*

Jesus,[1] according to which the Holy Family, during their flight into Egypt, came to a desolate region, regarded as unsafe for travellers, owing to the presence of Titus and Dumachus, two noted robbers, with their followers. Joseph and Mary determined to cross this district by night, but soon they encountered two robbers resting by the wayside, while the rest of the band slept. The two who were awake were Titus and Dumachus. Titus said to his companion, "I pray thee, suffer these persons to go their way, unnoticed by our comrades." Dumachus refused this request, whereupon Titus promised him forty drachmas, and handed him his girdle as a pledge that the sum would be paid. The story continues:

Videnque domina hera Maria, hunc latronem ipsis benefecisse, ait illi: Dominus Deus te dextra sua sustentabit et remissionem peccatorum tibi largietur. Dominus autem Jesus respondit et dixit matri suae: Post triginta annos, o mater, crucifigent me Judaei Hierosolymae et duo isti latrones mecum una in crucem tollentur, Titus ad dexteram meam, et Dumachus ad sinistram, et post illum diem praecedet me Titus in paradisum.

In the Roman Martyrology the penitent thief is mentioned, without a name, on March 25th.[2]

The darkness and our Lord's death agony. The three synoptic writers all record the darkness that lasted from the sixth to the ninth hour, but only St. Matthew and St. Mark say that our Lord cried out in His desolation and died at the ninth hour. The synoptic evangelists undoubtedly used the Jewish method of reckoning time, and counted the hours from sunrise. As the crucifixion took place at the equinox, the sun rose about 6 A.M., and so the third hour was 9 A.M., and the ninth 3 P.M. St. Matthew and St. Mark use almost the same words in speaking of the darkness: "From the sixth hour there was darkness — until the ninth hour." According to Jewish reckoning the sixth hour began at 11 A.M. and ended at noon, so the evangelists mean that the eclipse began before noon. This agrees with St. Luke's words, "It was almost the sixth hour."

This precise statement regarding the beginning of the darkness makes it easier for us to determine the hour when Christ was nailed to the cross. The difficulty arises from the fact that according to St. Mark our Lord was crucified at the third hour, while according to St. John it was not until the sixth hour that Pilate took up his position on the judgment seat, in order formally to pronounce the death sentence, after all his attempts to save Jesus had failed. These attempts have been already discussed in the section *Ecce Homo*, and we are here concerned only with the question as to which of the two probable explanations is preferable. If we assume that

[1] C. 23; Tisch. 192.

[2] Hierosolymis, *commemoratio S. Latronis, qui in cruce Christum confessus ab eo meruit audire: Hodie mecum eris in Paradiso.* In his Annotationes Baronius adds: *Reperiuntur autem S. Dismae latronis nomini nonnulla sacella dicata et memoriae erecta eodem titulo.*

St. Mark, in speaking of the third hour, referred not to a definite hour of the day, but rather to the period between 9 A.M. and noon, which the Jews called the third hour of prayer, and if we assume, too, that when St. John speaks of the sixth hour he used the Jewish reckoning,[1] we arrive at the conclusion that the death sentence was not pronounced until a little after 11 A.M. and that the crucifixion followed just before noon. But the darkness began at noon, and, before it set in, Jesus had been hanging for a considerable time on the cross; consequently there seems to be no time left for the walk to Golgotha, the setting up of the three crosses, the partition of our Lord's garments, and the scenes of mockery. This being the case, it must be admitted that those commentators are probably right who think that St. John used the Roman reckoning of time, and that, when he says the sixth hour of the day, he means 6 A.M. St. John does not say *at* or *during* the sixth hour, but *about* the sixth hour, so we may assign the events hitherto discussed to the following hours: Jesus was formally condemned to death about 7 A.M.; during the third hour, i.e., about 9 A.M., He was crucified; and from the sixth hour until the ninth (i.e., from noon until 3 P.M.) there was darkness. During the period of almost three hours, while Jesus had been hanging on the cross, the following events had occurred: (1) His garments were divided among the Roman soldiers; (2) He was mocked by the people, the Sanhedrists, the soldiers, and the thief on His left hand; (3) the penitent thief acknowledged his guilt and asked for mercy; (4) our Lord uttered the first two words on the cross.

A special treatise would be required for the full discussion of the nature, extent, and significance of the darkness that lasted during our Saviour's death agony. Bynaeus introduces his dissertation on the subject with the words: *primum prodigium divinitus factum, quo Jesu gloria, dum in cruce penderet adhuc vivus summaque integritas asserta evidenter est, tenebrae ortae ipso meridie, quo dies solet esse clarissimus, fuerunt.*[2] Only the three synoptic evangelists record the darkness; St. Matthew and St. Mark both say, "there was darkness," without stating explicitly that it was due to an eclipse. According, however, to the received Greek text of St. Luke, with which the Vulgate version agrees, "there was darkness over all the earth until the ninth hour. And the sun was darkened." The statement regarding the darkness over all the earth precedes that regarding the sun, and both in the Greek and in the Vulgate the two statements are separated by a full stop. This reading has led many commentators to suppose that the darkness was due to some unusual atmospheric condition, which preceded the earthquake and had some casual connection with it; that the air became so dense that the sun's light was completely obscured. Origen

[1] Compare Acts ii. 15; iii. 1; x. 9.

[2] Bynaeus, III, 8, 1–4.

expresses the opinion, *tenebrosissimae nubes concurrentes super terram Judaeam et Jerusalem ad cooperiendos radios solis.* He refers again to this view when discussing the correct reading of the passage in St. Luke, which we shall have occasion to notice in our next paragraph.

The text of the best Greek manuscript that is accepted by Tischendorf, and by Westcott and Hort, two English scholars, runs thus: "There was darkness over all the earth until the ninth hour, since the sun ceased to give his light." Origen was aware of this reading, but it did not commend itself to him, because it was not in agreement with his theory as to the cause of the darkness over the earth.[1] There is, however, good documentary evidence in support of it, and it plainly ascribes the darkness to an eclipse of the sun. Now an eclipse of the sun cannot in the natural course of events occur when the moon is full, which was the case at the time of Christ's crucifixion. According to the Acts of Pilate, the procurator pointed out this fact to the Sanhedrists, and referred to the miraculous eclipse and the rending of the veil of the temple as evidence that Jesus had been a just man. When the Jews remarked that the darkness was due to an eclipse of the sun, such as had taken place on other occasions, Pilate replied, "Yesterday, on the fourteenth day of the month, you slew the Pasch, and yet you assert that an eclipse of the sun has occurred."[2] We may arrive at the following conclusion, after carefully considering the matter: The darkness that covered the earth at the time of Christ's crucifixion was produced, not by any atmospheric processes preceding the earthquake, but by a real though miraculous eclipse of the sun. This conclusion is supported by (1) the earliest and best manuscripts of St. Luke's gospel; (2) the fact that no natural eclipse could occur when the moon was full, as was the case during the Jewish Pasch; (3) the long duration of the darkness, with regard to which the three evangelists are agreed; (4) the historical events at Golgotha that accompanied the darkness. In his Commentary on St. Matthew, St. Jerome

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[1] Orig. in Matth., Tract. 35: *in quibusdam exemplaribus non habetur: tenebrae factae sunt et obscuratus est sol, sed ita: tenebrae factae sunt super omnem terram sole deficiente. Et forsitan ausus est aliquis quasi manifestius aliquid dicere volens, pro: et obscuratus est ponere: deficiente sole existimans, quod non aliter potuissent fieri tenebrae, nisi sole deficiente.*

[2] Acta Pilati, A. xi. 2; B. xi. 2. Compare Tisch. pp. 249 and 310.

alludes to points (2) and (3) in order to prove that the eclipse of the sun was miraculous. It is impossible to do more than offer suggestions as to the manner in which God so overruled the course of nature as to bring about an eclipse. It may be of interest to quote in this connection a passage from the Epistle to Polycarp by the Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita, which is mentioned in a manuscript of the Acta Pilati.[1] It runs as follows: *eramus tunc (sc. tempore tenebrarum) ambo apud Heliopolim, amboque simul incidentem mirabiliter soli lunae globum notabamus (non enim ejusce conjunctionis tunc aderat tempus) ipsamque rursus ab hora nona ad vesperam ad solis diametrum supra naturae vires restitutam.*

The evangelists, in speaking of the extent of the darkness, use the word γῆ = *terra,* which may mean the whole earth, but need not necessarily be taken in that sense, for it may equally well be regarded as referring to the whole land of Palestine.

That this is probably the correct interpretation seems likely, because the evangelists employ other words to denote the entire world. Commentators are divided in opinion; the majority think that the darkness either certainly or probably extended over the whole world, but others restrict it to Palestine.[2]

The symbolical significance of the darkness, of which we shall speak shortly, may be considered as a further argument in support of the latter view.

Some commentators, both ancient and modern, who believe that the darkness was universal, identify it with an extraordinary occurrence mentioned by the historian Phlegon. Phlegon,[3] a freedman of Hadrian, in his great work on the Olympiads, remarks that in the fourth year of the two hundred and second Olympiad there was a great darkness, surpassing all that had occurred before. About midday it grew so dark that the stars were seen in the sky, and a great earthquake at the same time destroyed many houses at Nicaea in Bithynia.[4] We may also notice a statement made by Tertullian,[5] to the effect that the Roman archives contained a record of a world-wide darkness such as Phlegon describes.

The symbolical interpretation of the darkness is obvious. In Biblical language light is a type of Christ and His doc-

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[1] Tisch. Evang. apocr. 310, note.
[2] Orig. in Matth., Tract. 35: *tantummodo super omnen terram Judaeam aut certe super Jerusalem tantum;* Mald. and others.
[3] Compare Baronius, Ann. ad a. 35, n. 120.
[4] Euseb. Chron. ann. 33.
[5] Apol. C. 21.

trine of joy and of salvation,[1] and in the same way darkness stands for misery, fear of God's visitations,[2] and the spiritual gloom of ignorance and immorality with all its attendant unhappiness.[3]

Thus the darkness at our Lord's crucifixion symbolized the fact that by crucifying their Master, who bore witness to being the Light of the World, the Jews had ceased to be the chosen people, and abandoned themselves to the spiritual darkness of sin and error, so that they would have to answer for their deeds before the terrible tribunal of God.

The women standing beside the cross. Our Lord's third word on the cross. When Jesus spoke for the third time, He addressed His Mother and His beloved disciple St. John, as the latter himself tells us.[4] The fourth evangelist alone mentions Our Lady in connection with the Passion, and says that she stood with other women beside the cross on which the Saviour of the World was dying. According to the Acts of Pilate John had brought Mary the news that Jesus was condemned to death. Together they hurried after the procession, and when Mary caught sight of her divine Son, with His hands bound and the crown of thorns upon His head, she fell fainting to the ground and remained for some time unconscious. Tradition says that the meeting between our Lord and His mother, the fourth Station of the Cross, occurred at the spot where the so-called Street of Mary joins the Via Dolorosa.[5] St. John says "There stood by the cross of Jesus his mother and his mother's sister, Mary of Cleophas, and Mary Magdalen." This statement is almost universally interpreted as referring to three women, viz.: (1) Mary, the mother of Jesus; (2) Mary, who is described both as Our Lady's sister and as the wife of Cleophas (Alphaeus); (3) Mary Magdalen. Alphaeus is only a softer pronunciation of the Aramaic name from which the Greek form Clopas or Cleophas is derived. "Mary of Cleophas" may mean daughter or wife; the latter is preferable, because St. Mark calls this Mary "the mother of James the

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[1] John i. 9; viii. 12; Matthew iv. 16; Luke i. 78; and frequently in the Old Testament.
[2] Isa. viii. 22; Job xviii. 5; Am. v. 18; Joel ii. 2.
[3] Suidas: *παρὰ τῇ θεία γραφῇ ποτὲ μὲν ἡ ἄγνοια ποτὲ αἱ συμφοραί.*
[4] xix. 25–27.
[5] Compare Socin. 93.

Less,"[1] and in the lists of the apostles[2] James the Less is termed "son of Alphaeus."

In order to distinguish this mother of James from Our Lady she is also called "the other Mary."[3]

Some modern scholars assume that St. John mentions not three, but four women, and the punctuation of the text edited by Westcott and Hort shows that these commentators have adopted this view. It runs thus: "Now there stood by the cross of Jesus His mother and His mother's sister, Mary the wife of Cleophas and Mary Magdalen." In this way we have four women, mentioned in pairs, the first pair being Mary, the Mother of Jesus, and her sister, whose name is not recorded; the second pair being Mary the wife of Cleophas and Mary Magdalen. Two arguments are advanced in support of this theory: viz., (1) two sisters would not have borne the same name, and there is no justification for assuming that the word "sister" is used in the wider sense of "sister-in-law"; (2) the usual interpretation destroys the balance of the sentence, as according to it the other Mary is mentioned twice, in connection first with her sister, and afterwards with her husband. Moreover, some scholars claim to have discovered the name of Our Lady's sister. St. Matthew[4] and St. Mark[5] state that among the women who stood far from the cross were Mary Magdalen, Mary the mother of James and Joseph, and the mother of the sons of Zebedee; the last mentioned was Salome; consequently the sister of the mother of Jesus (as St. John calls her) has been identified with Salome, who is termed by the synoptic evangelists the mother of the sons of Zebedee, James and John. Those who adopt this identification urge that it is probably correct, because St. John, in suppressing his mother's name, was only following his usual course and did not allude to himself explicitly. The whole argument, however, breaks down in face of the fact that there is no ecclesiastical tradition in support of any relationship between our Lord and the sons of Zebedee, and therefore we cannot put any such interpretation upon the passage in question.

Mary was with her divine Son when for the first time He manifested His power at Cana in Galilee, and confirmed the truth of the testimony as to His being indeed the Son of God.[6] She was again with Him when, as God-Man, He completed His work of redemption while hanging in the deepest humiliation on the cross. The agony that she endured at the foot of the cross constituted that spiritual martyrdom which the aged Simeon had foretold when he said, "thy own soul a sword shall pierce,"[7] and this agony was greater than any physical sufferings could have been.[8] At the same time the sight of His mother's suffering intensified that of our Lord, so that every-

[1] Mark xv. 40.
[2] Matthew x. 3; Mark iii. 18; Luke vi. 15; Acts i. 13.
[3] Compare Matthew xxvii. 16; xxviii. 1.
[4] xxvii. 56.
[5] xv. 40.
[6] John ii. 1.
[7] Luke ii. 35.
[8] Anselmus, de excellentia Virginis, c. 5.

thing contributed to fill up the measure of His misery. The three women standing by the cross are often regarded as representatives of three classes of believers: Mary Magdalen is the penitent, just entering upon the way of perfection; Mary of Cleophas represents those who have advanced farther, while Our Lady herself has attained to perfection. At every stage of their journey along the path of virtue it behooves Christians to look up to the cross with faith and confidence. Jesus had already displayed His boundless charity toward His enemies by praying for them; now at the moment of death He teaches us how great and sacred a duty is filial love; for, before He passed away, He entrusted His mother to St. John, that he might lavish on her the care and love of a son, and at the same time He bestowed upon His favorite disciple a tender mother.

In his little work "The Seven Words of Christ on the Cross" Cardinal Bellarmine points out very beautifully how our Lord, when hanging on the cross, and His mother, when standing beside it, teach us the duties of good parents and children toward one another.[1] Some commentators give to this episode a still deeper significance, and say that in the person of St. John the whole Church received Mary as its mother, and when she accepted him as her son she accepted all the faithful as her children. The reason why the beloved disciple was chosen, rather than another, for the honor of being her protector, is stated by St. Jerome in the words: *a Domino virgine mater virgo virgini discipulo commendatur.* The fact that our Lord entrusted His mother to St. John's care shows that the so-called brethren of Jesus were not actually His brothers and also that St. Joseph had already died at the time of the crucifixion.

The fourth word on the cross. This fourth word, and no other, is recorded by St. Matthew and St. Mark. It is, "Eli, Eli, lamma sabacthani? My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" and is a direct quotation from a Messianic Psalm,[2] in which the Psalmist describes the intense suffering endured by the Messiah, His eventual deliverance, and the conversation of the Gentiles as a result of His agony. Both evangelists say that our Saviour uttered this mournful cry about the ninth hour, i.e., at 3 P.M., and both give His words as well in

[1] L. I, c. ii. [2] xxi. 2.

the Aramaic tongue, sanctified by His use, as in the Greek. Our Lord's voice and the form and meaning of the words revealed His intense sorrow of mind and anguish of body. The evangelists tell us that He cried with a loud voice, and repeated His cry, "My God," and finally complained of being forsaken.[1]

We may here refer briefly to the torture caused by crucifixion. That it was a most painful form of death is proved by the fact that even the unfeeling Romans called it the most cruel and agonizing punishment. An eighteenth-century physician, Christian Gottlieb Richter, devoted a work to the description of the pain of crucifixion.[2] The unnatural position, the sitting upon the narrow *sedile*, and the outstretched arms were in themselves enough to cause intolerable suffering, which was intensified by every attempt to move. Moreover, the nails were driven through the hands and feet just at the spots where many highly sensitive nerves meet and the huge wounds soon became intensely inflamed, and were enlarged by the weight of the body. In addition there was almost intolerable thirst, due to the loss of blood and perspiration. The rush of blood to the head gave rise to a terrible headache, and the disturbances in the circulation of the blood were attended with the greatest discomfort.

Our Lord's fearful suffering upon the cross forced from His lips the cry, "Why hast thou forsaken me?" This is not an expression of despair, for Jesus appealed to God as "My God," and with complete submission commended His soul to His heavenly Father. In what sense, then, was He forsaken on the cross? He was enduring extreme anguish both of mind and body, and in His human nature He received comfort and alleviation neither from His own divine nature, nor from His Father in heaven. This deprivation occurred in consequence of God's design for our salvation, which required the Incarnate Son of God to experience the deepest humiliation, and to bear the greatest possible agony of mind and body for the salvation of mankind. Our Lord's question, "Why hast thou forsaken me?" suggests that He, though innocent, had to suffer for the sins of men, and that the burden of human guilt weighed down, as it were, His sacred body, causing Him the distress and fear that found natural expression in the complaint of being forsaken. Many commentators think that Jesus uttered this cry in the name of sinful humanity, estranged from and forsaken by God.[3]

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[1] It has been thought that our Lord repeated, or at least had in mind, the entire psalm, with its triumphant ending.

[2] Dissertationes quatuor medicae, Göttingen, 1775.

[3] Mald. describes this interpretation as *receptissima*.

The fifth word on the cross. The fifth word uttered by our Lord on the cross is recorded by St. John, who remarks, by way of preface, that Jesus knew all things were now accomplished, i.e., He had finished the work of redemption, for which He had become Man. The word τετέλεσται is used by anticipation; our Lord regarded the impending conclusion of His Messianic activity as already existing. The introductory words, "Jesus, knowing that all things were now accomplished," indicate the reason why at that moment He uttered the cry that had already been foretold, "I thirst." It was because He knew that the work of redemption was all but accomplished that He said, "I thirst," in order to fulfill in every detail the prophecies relating to the sufferings of the Messiah.

Parching thirst, due to loss of blood and fever produced by the wounds, was, as we said above, one of the great sufferings in crucifixion, and this was the primary reason why Jesus, after hanging for nearly six hours on the cross, exclaimed, "I thirst." But St. John reveals the ultimate underlying cause of the cry. A Messianic prophecy regarding this detail in our Lord's Passion still awaited fulfillment. He had in view the Psalmist's words, "in my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink,"[1] "My strength is dried up like a potsherd, and my tongue hath cleaved to my jaws."[2] Our Lord's burning thirst is often taken as a symbol of His ardent desire for the salvation of men.

Vinegar is offered to Jesus just before His death. This fact is recorded by St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. John, whose accounts supplement one another, and, taken collectively, supply a full description of what took place. The order of events is as follows: When Jesus uttered His cry of desolation, "Eli, Eli," some of the bystanders said that He was calling for Elias. These were probably Jews, and their remark reveals their contempt and mocking spirit. His pitiless foes gave expression to their hatred even at the moment when Jesus was at the point of death; they jeered at the helplessness of One who professed to be the Messiah, and they suggested that He called for Elias to save Him, since He could not save Himself—though, as they meant to insinuate, such an appeal must necessarily be unavail-

[1] Ps. lxviii. 22. [2] Ps. xxi. 15.

ing, because Elias would put in an appearance for none but the true Messiah. In order fully to understand their mockery, we must remember that, according to the Jews' interpretation of Mal. iv. 5, the return of Elias was expected before the first coming of the Messiah, whereas, according to the correct interpretation of the passage, Elias the Theobite is to appear only before our Lord's second coming. While the Jews, by wilfully misinterpreting the words "Eli, Eli," were ridiculing our dying Lord, He uttered the cry, "I thirst," which is recorded only by St. John, and gave rise to fresh mockery. There are some slight discrepancies in the accounts given by the various evangelists, but they can easily be reconciled. For elucidation of the whole proceeding, St. John introduces his report with the remark, "Now there was a vessel set there, full of vinegar."

Vinegar and sponge belonged to the equipment for crucifixion, for the purpose of reviving the crucified if they fainted from weakness and pain. The object was to keep them conscious and thus to increase their suffering. That vinegar and sponge were not there for the soldiers is obvious, as they certainly did not drink by means of a sponge. It is a debated point whether the drink was offered to Jesus by a Jew or by a Roman soldier. St. John says that *they* put the sponge to His mouth, but St. Matthew and St. Mark speak of *one* man; there is, however, no difficulty here; St. John says in a general way that the sponge was put to our Lord's mouth, and the other two evangelists speak of the man who performed the action. St. Matthew says that one of them ran and took a sponge. As there seems to be a reference to the persons standing round the cross, some of whom had been mocking Jesus with the words "This man calleth Elias . . . ," and since these speakers were undoubtedly Jews, it has been assumed that the man who offered the vinegar to Jesus was a Jew and not a Roman soldier. The remark about the coming of Elias shows that the speakers were familiar with the Jewish anticipation of the prophet's return. On the other hand, most commentators, as far as they discuss the point at all, think that it was probably, if not certainly, a Roman soldier who held the sponge dipped in vinegar to our Lord's lips. Bynaeus reasons thus: The expression "one of them" refers to the people assembled round the cross, amongst whom the Roman soldiers, being the guards, occupied a prominent position, and St. Luke indicates that the man who offered Jesus vinegar was a Roman, not a Jew.[1] This reasoning is correct if St. Luke refers to the same scene of mockery as the other evangelists, but there is a weighty argument against assuming such to be the case. St. Luke is, as a rule, most accurate on points of chronology, and he speaks of Jesus as being mocked by Roman soldiers immediately after He was nailed to the cross, before the sixth hour, whereas the mockery described by the other evangelists occurred just before our Lord's death. We cannot decide with certainty whether the vinegar was offered to Jesus by a Roman soldier or by a Jew.

[1] Bynaeus, III, 8, 8.

A man, whether a Jew or a Roman soldier is therefore uncertain, took a sponge, dipped it in a vessel full of vinegar, that was standing in readiness, and put it on a rod of hyssop, in order thus to reach our Lord's mouth. According to St. Matthew some of those present tried to stop him, and said with a sneer, "Let be, let us see whether Elias will come to deliver him"; the man, however, as St. Mark tells us, replied, "Stay [i.e., do not hinder me], let us see if Elias come to take him down," and he proceeded to hold the sponge to the lips of Jesus, who, according to St. John, accepted the drink. The man's words were uttered in jest; he wished to prolong our Lord's life, so as to give Elias more time to come and take Him down. Baronius thinks that both the vinegar and the hyssop would have the effect of arresting the flow of blood.[1] As hyssop never grows to any great height, St. John here furnishes us with an indication of the height of the cross.

The sixth word on the cross. St. John alone records the sixth utterance of our Lord on the cross: "It is consummated." Our Saviour referred primarily to the end of His earthly life and to the hour of His departure from this world, but there was a far deeper, secondary meaning; He declared that He had accomplished the task that He had come to perform, and in His life and actions had fulfilled all the prophecies regarding the Messiah. "It is consummated," for He had offered the Sacrifice of which the sacrifices in the Old Testament were but types; and thus He had deposed the devil from his dominion over the world, and effected the reconciliation of mankind with God.[2] *Consummatum est,* namely, all that which Luke (xviii. 31) expresses in the words: "All things shall be accomplished which were written by the prophets concerning the Son of Man." (*Quod nisi quod prophetia tanto ante praedixerat,* St. Augustine.)

The seventh word on the cross. After our Saviour had said, "It is consummated," He cried out with a loud voice, as St. Matthew and St. Mark tell us: the former inserts the word "again," which shows that this was the second loud cry, and St. Luke has recorded the words thus uttered, "Father, into

[1] Ann. ad a. 34, n. 124–126.
[2] Compare Bellarmine, de septem verbis, 2, 12.

thy hands I commend my spirit." Many commentators see in this utterance a declaration that Jesus submitted voluntarily to the divine scheme for the salvation of men, according to which it was necessary for the Son of God to die.[1]

The seventh word on the cross is again a quotation from the Psalms,[2] spoken first by David, a type of Christ, when, owing to Saul's hostility, he was encompassed by dangers. The words received their full meaning on our Lord's lips. After declaring that the work of redemption was completed, He addressed His Father in heaven, saying, "Father, thou didst send me forth to do thy will among men; now, having finished my work I commend my spirit into thy hands." In spite of His profound humiliation, the moment was at hand when His prayer would be granted: "I have glorified thee on earth, I have finished the work which thou gavest me to do. Now glorify thou me, O Father, with thyself, with the glory which I had before the world was, with thee."[3] Our Lord's last word on the cross should be the last prayer at night on the lips of every Christian, for it is sanctified by our Saviour's use, and helps us to spend each day in the faithful discharge of the duties that our heavenly Father requires of us. The Church employs the same words in her *commendatio animae:* "To Thee, O Lord, we commend the soul of this Thy servant, that, being dead to the world, he may live to Thee."

Having uttered the last words our divine Lord bowed His head and gave up the ghost. The evangelists all use such positive language regarding His death, that it is impossible to question its reality. We may notice that in St. John's account "bowing his head, he gave up the ghost," there is a quite definite allusion to the death of the Messiah as being voluntary and an act of obedience. St. Augustine says: *quis ita dormit quando voluerit, sicut Jesus mortuus est quando voluit? quis ita vestem ponit quando voluerit, sicut se carne exuit quando voluit? quis ita cum voluerit abit, quomodo cum voluit obiit? quanta spe-*

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[1] Jansenius follows St. John Chrysostom and remarks that Jesus cried with a loud voice: *in argumentum superstitis in eo roboris, ut videlicet testatum redderet, se non defectu virium mori, ut contingit iis, qui lenta morte moriuntur, sed vitam et mortem esse in sua plena et libera potestate, sicut de se ipso asseverat.*

[2] Ps. xxx. 6.

[3] John xvii. 4, 5.

randa vel timenda potestas est judicantis, si apparuit tanta morientis?[1]

Epitome of our Lord's seven words on the cross. 1. The first word: "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." This word was spoken before the darkness set in; it is recorded only by St. Luke (xxiii. 34).

2. The second word: "Amen I say to thee, this day thou shalt be with me in paradise." This word was also spoken before the darkness, and is recorded by St. Luke (xxiii. 43).

3. This and the following words were uttered during the period of darkness: "Woman, behold thy son," "Behold thy mother." Recorded by St. John (xix. 26, 27).

4. "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" The words are a quotation from Ps. xxi. 2, which is unmistakably Messianic, and are recorded by St. Matthew (xxvii. 46) and St. Mark (xv. 34).

5. "I thirst." This is also a quotation from a Psalm (lxviii. 22) and is recorded by St. John (xix. 28).

6. "It is consummated," recorded by St. John (xix. 30).

7. "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit." This is a quotation from Ps. xxx. 6 and is recorded only by St. Luke (xxiii. 46).

Thus of the seven words St. Luke records three (1, 2, 7); St. John also three (3, 5, 6); St. Matthew and St. Mark each one (4). The fourth, fifth, and seventh words are quotations from the Psalms.

It has been suggested that the fourth and fifth words of our Lord be interchanged to explain better the order of events. The first three words were spoken at the beginning of His crucifixion and of the torments on the cross; then silence followed till shortly before His death. The silence was broken by the fifth word, "I thirst," yet the vinegar that was offered to Him was, according to Matthew and Mark, given on the misinterpretation of the fourth word: "Eli, Eli, . . ." (Matthew xxvii. 48 and Mark xv. 36, *εὐθέως δραμὼν*, then at once, . . .). This close connection between the offering of the vinegar and the purposely misinterpreted invocation of Elias would be lost if we put the word "I thirst" after the cry of dereliction. Thus perhaps the order of events was the following: when Jesus complained "I thirst," His complaint was disregarded, perhaps because He had refused to drink before His crucifixion. When, however, shortly after that our Lord cried out: "Eli, Eli, . . .," one of the soldiers ran to quench his thirst in order to prolong his life, to see whether Elias would come, or rather, to show that Elias would not come. Thus the soldier himself, with

[1] Tract. in Joann. 119, 6.

some others, explains the action, when an objection was raised to his giving the vinegar: "Let be, let us see whether Elias will come to deliver Him." And on that remark they all agreed, as John xix. 29 testifies. After this, in quick succession the sixth and seventh words were spoken.

III. Wonderful Events that Followed our Lord's Death

Matthew xxvii. 51–56

51. And behold the veil of the temple was rent in two from the top even to the bottom, and the earth quaked and the rocks were rent.

52. And the graves were opened: and many bodies of the saints that had slept arose.

53. And coming out of the tombs after his resurrection, came into the holy city, and appeared to many.

54. Now the centurion and they that were with him watching Jesus, having seen the earthquake and the things that were done, were sore afraid, saying: Indeed this was the Son of God.

55. And there were many women afar off, who had followed Jesus from Galilee, ministering unto him.

56. Among whom was Mary Magdalen, and Mary the mother of James and Joseph, and the mother of the sons of Zebedee.

Mark xv. 38–41

38. And the veil of the temple was rent in two, from the top to the bottom.

39. And the centurion who stood over against him, seeing that crying out in this manner he had given up the ghost, said: Indeed this man was the Son of God.

40. And there were also women looking on afar off: among whom was Mary Magdalen, and Mary the mother of James the less and of Joseph, and Salome;

41. Who also when he was in Galilee, followed him, and ministered to him, and many other women that came up with him to Jerusalem.

Luke xxiii. 45, 47–49

45. And the veil of the temple was rent in the midst.

47. Now the centurion seeing what was done, glorified God, saying: Indeed this was a just man.

48. And all the multitude of them that were come together to that sight, and saw the things that were done, returned striking their breasts.

49. And all his acquaintance and women that had followed him from Galilee, stood afar off beholding these things.

General remarks. About six months before His Passion and Death our Saviour addressed the following solemn words to the unbelieving Jews: "When you shall have lifted up the Son of Man, then shall you know that I am he, and that I do nothing of myself, but as the Father hath taught me, these things I speak."[1] In these words He foretold that the events after His

[1] John viii. 28.

death would force the Jews to recognize Him as the Messiah, although in their unbelief they still refused to do so. The crucified Son of Man is the Messiah, and His works and doctrine are divine. No sooner had the Jews nailed their Messiah to the cross than the significant events prophetically foretold began to happen. Only the synoptic evangelists describe these events, and their accounts stand in the following relation to one another. St. Matthew's account is the fullest; he speaks of the rending of the temple veil, the earthquake, the cleaving of the rocks, the resurrection and appearance of many deceased pious persons, and, finally, he records the testimony borne by the Gentile centurion. St. Mark and St. Luke allude to the first and last of these things, and the latter mentions the rending of the temple veil as occurring before our Lord's death.

The rending of the veil of the Temple. St. Matthew connects this occurrence very closely with the death of Christ, as a most extraordinary event caused by the crucifixion. Nothing in his account justifies the assumption that the veil was torn by the violent motion[1] produced by the earthquake; it was rent from top to bottom in consequence of our Lord's death.

There were two curtains or veils in the temple, one of which cut off the Holy Place from the Court of the Priests, while the other separated the Holy of Holies from the Holy Place. In the New Testament the word here used for veil is elsewhere used always of the curtain in front of the Holy of Holies; therefore we must understand that it bears the same meaning here, and that the curtain rent was the inner, and not the outer one, although some early commentators have adopted the contrary opinion. From the Epistle to the Hebrews[2] we can gather the symbolical significance of the rending of the veil of the temple: it indicated that the old dispensation was ended by the death of Christ on the cross, and its place was taken by His Church, whereby Heaven, the Holy of Holies, was opened to the human race. This interpretation bears out the theory that the inner curtain was the one rent. Thenceforth it was only a question of time until the Jewish temple, having lost its importance, vanished from the face of the earth.

The earthquake and cleaving of the rocks. St. Matthew speaks of these things as marking the moment of Christ's death. Many commentators think that the whole world was affected by the earthquake, as it also had been covered with darkness during our Lord's agony. St. Cyril of Jerusalem (*ob.* 386 A.D.) tells us that it was still possible to see the cracks in the road at

[1] Lyranus: *ad motum terrae et aeris scissum est.*
[2] vi. 19; viii. 1 *seqq.*; ix. 1 *seqq.*; x. 2.

Golgotha that originated at the death of Christ. He speaks of "this sacred, conspicuous Golgotha, visible at the present day, which still displays the clefts produced long ago on account of Christ."[1] Rufinus[2] has preserved a similar statement made by Lucian the martyr. There can be no doubt that the violent earthquake, connected with and caused by the death of Christ, symbolized the meaning of His death both to believers and to the Jews who refused to believe in Him. In the Old Testament an earthquake heralded the approach of God,[3] and marked the imminence of God's judgments,[4] and this enables us to understand the symbolic significance of this natural phenomenon at the crucifixion: (1) inanimate nature thus gave expression to its sorrow at the ruthless murder of the Lord; (2) the unbelieving Jews were warned of God's wrath and of their coming chastisement; (3) additional evidence was furnished to the faithful that Jesus hanging on the cross was indeed the God-Man, the Lord of nature, and that the grace flowing from the cross would reform the stony hearts of men.[5]

The opening of the graves and resurrection of the dead. Another marvellous occurrence was that the graves were opened, and many bodies of saints arose, and, coming out of the tombs after our Lord's resurrection, came into Jerusalem and appeared to many. This passage involves several difficulties. St. Matthew connects the opening of the graves with the earthquake, but goes on to say that the bodies of the saints came out of the tombs and appeared in Jerusalem *after* Christ's resurrection. It seems, therefore, that some time elapsed between the awakening of the ancient saints and their coming forth from the tombs. As Christ is quite definitely termed "the first fruits of them that sleep,"[6] "the first born from the dead,"[7] "the first-begotten of the dead,"[8] we cannot but believe that the awakening of the saints and their issuing from the tombs occurred simultaneously, both, however, after our Lord's resur-

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[1] Catech. 13, 39.
[2] H. E. 9, 6.
[3] Compare Ps. lxvii. 8; xcviii. 1; cxiii. 6; Joel ii. 10.
[4] Ps. xvii. 9; Joel iii. 16.
[5] Jerome: *commovenda terrea et saxea corda ad poenitentiam;* compare also Tirinus, who sums up the various interpretations.
[6] 1 Cor. xv. 20.
[7] Col. i. 18.
[8] Apoc. i. 5.

rection. Therefore we must assume that the evangelist mentions the rising of the dead before it actually took place, being led to do so by the fact that he had just spoken of the opening of the graves. That this is the correct interpretation seems certain, for the awakened saints could not have remained in their tombs until after Christ's resurrection. The sequence of events is as follows: The graves were opened immediately after and in consequence of our Lord's death, but the awakening and appearance of the ancient saints are connected with His resurrection, and took place after it.[1]

There are three distinct theories regarding the interpretation to be put upon the awakening and appearance of the dead. According to one, the souls were clad not in real, but in merely apparent bodies. The unusual Greek word employed in the account does not, however, bear out this theory, since its use would be perfectly justifiable in an account of an extraordinary event. The theory is, moreover, in conflict with the wording of the narrative, which speaks of the *bodies* of the awakened saints as rising again. According to another interpretation, the dead rose with their glorified bodies, and afterwards both in body and soul entered the glory of heaven together with Christ, so that they already enjoy that completeness which will be bestowed upon the rest of the righteous only at the end of the world.[2] In support of this view its advocates draw attention to the connection between this event and Christ's glorious resurrection, to the use of the expressions, "that had slept" and "arose," which elsewhere denote the resurrection of the body at the last day, and to the verb ἐμεμανίζεσθαι. (Knabenbauer lays particular stress upon this last point.) On the other hand some scholars[3] believe that the saints rose with their actual, not their glorified, bodies and lived for a time, only to die again, so that like ourselves they are still awaiting their glorious resurrection at our Lord's return. St. Augustine refers in support of this view to Heb. xi. 39, 40: "And all these, being approved by the testimony of faith, received not the promise; God provid-

[1] Thus most commentators; a few think that the tombs were not opened until after Christ's resurrection.

[2] Orig., Epiph., Clemens Alex., Jerome, Mald., Corn. à Lap., Tir., Laurent (somewhat dubiously).

[3] August. Ep. 164, 9, ad Evodium (Ml. 33, 714); Theophyl., Euthym., Salmeron.

ing some better thing for us, *that they should not be perfected without us.*" St. Augustine takes the last words as referring exclusively to the perfection of mankind at the last day. Others urge that, in spite of the Apostle's words, an exception may have been made on the occasion of Christ's resurrection.[1] As the Bible narrative supplies no conclusive reasons for adopting one of the last two interpretations rather than the other, and as tradition leaves the matter uncertain, we cannot determine the manner in which the saints arose at our Lord's resurrection. The event is, however, in itself a proof that we have risen from the death of sin by the merits of Christ's death,[2] and that on the last day we, too, shall arise with our glorified bodies.[3]

Not only was inanimate nature shaken and disturbed when its Lord died upon the cross, but also the people present at the place of crucifixion were deeply moved and alarmed. All the three evangelists speak of the impression made upon the centurion who had supervised the execution. St. Matthew alone says that the soldiers were similarly affected, while only St. Luke mentions that the crowds present expressed their sorrow. Already at the foot of the cross began the fulfillment of the prophecy that the Gentiles throughout the world should enter the Messianic kingdom, while of the Jews, who were the first nation chosen to enjoy it, the great majority would persist in their unbelief.[4] Christ's wonderful patience on the cross, the loud cry with which He commended His soul to His heavenly Father, and the extraordinary events after His death, produced so powerful an impression upon the centurion and his men that they were seized with fear. Even the callous soldiers perceived that something supernatural was taking place. Alarm at unusual phenomena in nature is natural in frail and sinful men, and so the warriors, who had no doubt often faced death with unflinching courage, now shrank back in terror. St. Mark, who often adds details omitted by the other evangelists, says that the centurion had stood "over against" our Lord as He hung on the cross, with His face, according to an ancient tradition, turned toward the west. Without a moment's hesitation the

[1] Jansenius: "*paucorum*" *privilegium*. But the reading in St. Matthew is "many bodies."
[2] Rom. vi. 1 *seqq.*
[3] 1 Cor. xv. 1 *seqq.*
[4] Compare Matthew viii. 11, 12.

Roman made public profession of his belief that Jesus was "a just man" and "the Son of God." The second expression is frequently regarded as a commentary on the first,[1] but it is possible that they were two distinct testimonials, and actually uttered one after the other. Some suppose that the centurion, when he called Jesus the Son of God, used the words in the sense that they bear in pagan mythology, meaning "hero" or "demi-god"; it is, however, far more probable, and more in keeping with the scene, to believe that he had at least a faint perception of Christ's divine nature and dignity.

We read in the Acts of the Martyrs that pagans were often converted when they witnessed the steadfastness of the servants of God, and therefore we need feel no surprise if the Roman centurion believed when he beheld our dying Saviour. According to the apocryphal Acts of Pilate[2] the centurion's name was Longinus, but in the Roman Martyrology Longinus is commemorated on March 15th as the soldier who opened our Lord's side with a lance.[3] Another tradition represents this man as the son of the centurion who had besought our Lord to heal his dying servant,[4] and whose deep humility and firm faith aroused the astonishment of Jesus. The Jewish people present at the execution who, acting under the influence of the Jewish leaders, had demanded the death of Christ, now also repented, and gave expression to their sorrow by striking their breasts and acknowledging their guilt.

St. John is the only evangelist who tells us that while our Saviour was dying there stood by the cross His mother, and His mother's sister, Mary, wife of Cleophas, Mary Magdalen, and John; the other evangelists say that after our Lord's death the friends and women who had followed Him from Galilee stood at some distance from the cross. The two statements are distinct, and we need not try to make St. John's indication of place agree with that of the synoptic writers.[5] While Jesus was in His agony three women stood close by the cross, but after His death two at least of them withdrew from the cross,

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[1] August. Cons. evang. 3, 20.
[2] B. xi.; compare Tisch. 309.
[3] *Caesareae in Cappadocia passio sancti Longini militis, qui latus Domini lancea perforasse dicitur.*
[4] Matthew viii. 5 *seqq.*
[5] Tir. ad Jo. xix. 25.

and, standing a little distance off, watched the subsequent events. St. Luke speaks of "all His acquaintance"; this would certainly include the apostles, who had in the meantime assembled and boldly approached the place where the sorrowful scene was being enacted. Of the women present three are mentioned by St. Matthew and St. Mark, viz., Mary Magdalen, Mary the mother of James the Less and of Joseph, and Salome, the mother of James and John the sons of Zebedee. The Mary who is described as the mother of James and Joseph may be identified with the Mary whom St. John calls "sister" and our Lord's mother, and wife of Cleophas (or Alphaeus). Baronius[1] argues that this identification is inadmissible, because the one is said by St. John to have stood beside the cross, whereas the other, according to the synoptic evangelists, stood afar off; but this argument has no weight. If Mary Magdalen was first at the foot of the cross and then farther away, the same may have been the case with Mary the wife of Cleophas.

IV. The Thrust with the Lance

John xix. 31–37

31. Then the Jews (because it was the parasceve) that the bodies might not remain upon the cross on the sabbath-day (for that was a great sabbath-day) besought Pilate that their legs might be broken, and that they might be taken away.

32. The soldiers therefore came: and they broke the legs of the first, and of the other that was crucified with him.

33. But after they were come to Jesus, when they saw that he was already dead, they did not break his legs.

34. But one of the soldiers with a spear opened his side, and immediately there came out blood and water.

35. And he that saw it hath given testimony: and his testimony is true. And he knoweth that he saith true; that you also may believe.

36. For these things were done that the scripture might be fulfilled: You shall not break a bone of him.

37. And again another scripture saith: They shall look on him whom they pierced.

As a rule, death by crucifixion was very slow, as well as extremely painful. No vital organs were injured, and consequently men of robust constitution frequently lingered in agony for several days before they were released by death. Seneca[2]

[1] Apparatus ad annales, n. 67.

[2] Seneca, Epist. 101: *invenitur aliquis, qui malit inter supplicia tabescere et perire membratim et toties per stillicidia amittere animam?*

says that persons crucified languished away, died limb by limb, and lost life drop by drop. Generally nothing was done to shorten their sufferings, and they remained hanging on the cross, until they died of hunger, thirst, loss of blood, or the fever produced by their wounds.[1] According to Roman custom their bodies were left hanging until the flesh rotted away or was eaten by wild animals. In the time of Augustus permission was given for their burial upon request made by their relatives. The Jewish custom was different, for the law of Moses required the body of any man hanged on a gibbet to be taken down and buried the same day.[2]

As Jesus was probably nailed to the cross about the third hour (9 A.M.), and died about the ninth hour (3 P.M.), His agony was comparatively brief. The two thieves crucified with Him did not die so soon, and as the day was drawing to a close, and a great Sabbath was at hand, the Jews begged Pilate to hasten their death by means of the *crurifragium,* in order that the bodies might be taken down from the cross at the proper time.

The *crurifragium,* or breaking of the bones of the legs by means of a club, was a Roman punishment, inflicted usually only upon slaves and enemies. It was something quite independent of crucifixion, as we can see in the case of the thieves, for the Jews had to make special application to Pilate for permission to inflict it. Many commentators[3] think that in Palestine it may have been usual to combine the two punishments, in order that the bodies might be removed from the cross in conformity with the Law of Moses. In the present case the Jews gave as the reason for their request the fact that the approach of the great Sabbath necessitated the early removal of the corpses. There can be no doubt that the breaking of the legs in this case was intended to hasten the death of the crucified persons, for no one who had suffered crucifixion was ever taken down until he was dead, and the Jews were extremely anxious that Jesus should die. *Crurifragium* in conjunction with the intense pain of crucifixion would probably cause instantaneous death. Leonard Hug and Friedlieb, however, are of another opinion; the former thinks that the breaking of the legs would injure a crucified man beyond all possibility of recovery, so that he might be safely handed over to his family, and left to die. Friedlieb believes that a *coup de grâce* was always given at the same time when a man's legs were thus broken.

St. John says of the Sabbath following the crucifixion that it was "a great Sabbath day," or, literally, "great was the day of the Sabbath." This is the reading of the best Greek text. It differs very slightly from a somewhat inferior reading, which, however, is followed by the Vulgate: "Great was that day of the Sabbath." The words ἦν γὰρ μεγάλη ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνου

[1] Euseb. H. E. 8, 8.
[2] Deut. xxi. 22, 23.
[3] Lipsius, de Cruce, 2, 14; Menochius, Jansenius.

σαββάτου do not grammatically refer to παρασκευὴ but to σαββάτον, — the Sabbath following the Parasceve (Good Friday), and not the Parasceve itself, was a great day. This passage is quoted as a weighty argument in support of the hypothesis that the great Paschal festival of the Jews followed the day of our Lord's crucifixion. Knabenbauer thinks St. John could not possibly speak of the festival simply as παρασκευή and then allude to the following Sabbath as a great day. There is certainly considerable force in this argument, but on the other hand we must remember that St. John describes the days less according to their importance in the eyes of the Jews than according to their significance in the history of our redemption. Even if the day of the crucifixion coincided with the great Jewish festival, he might still call it simply the Parasceve, because at the time when he wrote his gospel this name was commonly given to the day of our Saviour's death, and he describes the following Sabbath as a great day, in order to explain why the Jews were anxious to have the bodies taken down from the crosses before sunset, since the law forbade such a thing to be done on the Sabbath. We may therefore follow the early commentators and believe that St. John calls the Sabbath after the crucifixion a great day, because it occurred during the week of the Pasch, and coincided with the second day of the festival, a day known as the day of Omer, which, like the great day of Atonement, ranked as a Sabbath, and consequently that particular Sabbath may be said to have been a sort of double Sabbath. Lyranus says: *quia sabbatum duplicatum propter octavam paschae concurrentem.*[1]

That Pilate allowed the *crurifragium* to take place is plain from the evangelist's account. The Roman soldiers broke the legs of the two criminals crucified with Christ, killing in this manner first the man on the right and then the one on the left of our Lord. Some scholars suppose that Pilate appointed special soldiers for this purpose, and we read in the Acts of Pilate, "He then sent soldiers who found that the two thieves were still breathing";[2] it is, however, more probable that the soldiers guarding the crosses inflicted this further punishment. The presence of the article in the Greek text (οἱ στρατιῶται) implies that the soldiers were already known as the executioners, and although St. John says that they *came*, this may very well mean that they had received fresh instructions.

They perceived that the two malefactors were still alive, but saw that Jesus was already dead, so they refrained from breaking His legs, but "one of the soldiers with a spear opened his side."

The instrument here called a spear was the ordinary weapon used by Roman soldiers towards the close of the republic and during the empire. It

[1] Compare Corn. à Lap.

[2] B. xi. 2; compare Tisch. 311.

consisted of a long wooden shaft tipped with a sharp iron point. The verb νύσσειν used by the evangelist signifies "to pierce," to make an opening.

There are several reasons for thinking that the wound in our Lord's side was not a mere scratch, but deep enough to have in itself been mortal: The soldier who inflicted it was trained in the art of killing,—all the evangelists use the same verb to designate his action; the apostle Thomas speaks of the wound as large enough to lay his hand in; blood and water issued from it; and lastly, the object in inflicting it was to make sure that the execution had been duly carried out. No crucified person could be taken down from the cross and handed over to his family for burial unless he was undoubtedly dead. In cases where a request was made for the body, it was not granted until a thrust had been given with a lance, to render it perfectly certain that death had taken place: *"percussos" sepelire carnifex non veta.*[1]

At the Council of Vienne (*sacro approbante concilio*) Pope Clement V condemned a theory put forward by Olivi, a Franciscan, who asserted that Jesus was still alive when the soldier struck Him with the spear, and that, in recounting the events of the Passion, St. John had erroneously represented the thrust as having been given after our Lord's death. Another Franciscan, Ubertino, who upheld Olivi's theory, said that the latter might have based it upon the apocryphal gospel of Nicodemus,[2] but this statement is hardly accurate, for the *Acta Pilati*, to which, together with the *Descensus Christi ad inferos*, another apocryphal work, is given the name of the "Gospel according to Nicodemus," show plainly, at least in their present form, that Jesus was dead before the soldiers came to break the legs of the two thieves. The passage has been already quoted as far as it refers to the *crurifragium;* it continues: "But when they found that Jesus had died, they did not touch Him at all, only a soldier gave Him a thrust with a lance on His right side, and immediately blood and water gushed forth."[3]

We still have to discuss the question whether our Lord's right or left side was pierced. As the soldier stood facing the cross and used his right hand, it seems at first sight probable that he struck Jesus on His left side, just through the heart. But the *Acta Pilati*, quoted above, say that the wound was on the right side, and a similar statement occurs in the Ethiopian translation of the evangelical narrative, in which we read that the soldier *confodit latus ejus, quod dextrum, lancea.* In the apocryphal Gospel of the Childhood of Jesus we are told that the wicked

[1] Quinctil. decl. 6, 9.
[2] Compare Hefele, Konziliengesch. 6, 540.
[3] Acta Pilati, B. xi. 2; compare Tisch. 311.

Judas once wounded the Holy Child on His right side when at play: *hic autem puer, qui Jesum percussit . . . erat Judas Ischariotes, qui illum Judaeis prodidit: et idem ejus latus, in quo percusserat eum Judas, Judaei lancea confixerunt.*[1] There is in the library Laurentiana at Florence a Syrian manuscript containing the works of Bishop Rabulas of Odessa, who died 435 A.D. The manuscript dates from the sixth century, and in it is one of the earliest pictures of the crucifixion, representing the soldier in the act of piercing our Lord's right side. We may perhaps conclude that the lance was driven into the right side with such force as to pierce the whole chest and penetrate the heart.[2] According to Aurelius Prudentius, a Christian poet, who died about 413 A.D., the point of the lance came out on the left side. In speaking of Christ's Passion he says: *Trajectus per utrumque latus, laticem atque cruorem Christus agit: sanguis victoria, lympha lavacrum est.*

In the Roman Martyrology mention is made on March 15th of a soldier named Longinus, who opened our Lord's side with a lance, and in the Acts of Pilate[3] this Longinus is identified with the centurion in command of the soldiers at the crucifixion (Matthew xxvii. 54), who gave testimony to Jesus when he witnessed the marvellous events that followed His death. It has been suggested that the name Longinus is derived from the Greek λόγχη, a lance, but this is unlikely, as the name Longinus is Latin, and was a cognomen of the *Gens Cassia.*[4] A certain Cassius Longinus is well known in secular history as the murderer of Caesar.

Blood and water issued from the wound in our Lord's side. According to St. John's testimony blood and water flowed from the wound caused by the lance in our Lord's dead body. Many commentators regard this occurrence as natural, although they account for it in various ways.

As St. John distinguishes blood and water, we must assume them to have flowed separately, first blood and then water. This assumption is supported by the passage in his first epistle (verse 6), where he unmistakably refers to the fact recorded in

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[1] Evang. infant. Arab. 35; compare Tisch. 200.
[2] Compare Corn. à Lap.
[3] B. xi. 1; compare Tisch. 309.
[4] Metaphrastes alludes to Longinus on Oct. 16th.

the gospel. It is impossible to attach much weight to the argument that in the gospel blood is mentioned first, and in the epistle water, for in the former place the apostle is speaking of the *order* of the two things, in the latter of their *significance*. The gospel narrative is decidedly in favor of the theory that real, true blood, and real, true water, flowed from the wound in Christ's side. Pope Innocent III declared the water to have been genuine water and consequently the blood must also have been genuine blood.[1]

We must therefore reject any attempts to show that what flowed from our Lord's side was a watery fluid tinged with blood; nor can we admit the theory that the blood in His body had already separated into serum and placenta. Any such resolution of His body into its constituent parts would be the beginning of decomposition, and St. Peter applied to Christ the words of Ps. xv. 10, "nor wilt thou give thy holy one to see corruption," adding: "He whom God hath raised from the dead, saw no corruption."[2] In his explanation of the passage in St. John, Tirinus remarks: *corpus Christi etsi anima destitutum corruptionem non sensit.*

William Stroud, an English physician, published in 1847 a work in which he describes more precisely his view of what occurred. He arrives at the conclusion that Christ died from rupture of the heart, and that as the body cooled the blood, which in consequence of this rupture had collected in the pericardium, coagulated very quickly, and separated into serum and crassamentum.[3] Against this other physicians maintain that rupture of the heart takes place only in the case of elderly persons, or of such as have some organic defect in their heart. Our Lord belonged to neither class.

Christian Gottfried Gruner, professor of medicine and botany in the faculty of medicine at the University of Jena (1773–1815), and an authority on medicine in his day, made a scientific study of the account of our Lord's death, and came to the conclusion that pure blood and water might quite naturally have flowed from the body when it was pierced.[4] The same opinion is held by many other scholars. They think that as a rule the blood in a dead body coagulates about an hour after death. In the pericardium there is a vaporous fluid which settles and appears as water if the pericardium is opened or the temperature of the body becomes very low. Consequently, if less than an hour had elapsed between our Lord's death and the moment when His body was pierced with the lance, and if the lance penetrated the pericardium and reached the heart, the flow of pure blood and real water can be easily explained on physiological lines.

If we take into account the whole tenor of St. John's statement and his subsequent allusion to the water and blood, it seems very doubtful whether we are justified in regarding the

[1] Lib. iii. decr. tit. 41 de celebr. Missae, c. viii.
[2] Acts xiii. 37.
[3] Stroud, A Treatise on the Physical Cause of the Death of Christ, pp. 153–156.
[4] Vindiciae mortis Jesu Christi verae.

occurrence as purely natural, even though it were possible to do so from the medical point of view, which is questionable. Bengel, a Protestant writer, in commenting upon the immediate flow of blood and water from the wound in Christ's side, remarks: *quod sanguis exiit, mirum: quod etiam aqua, magis mirum; quod utrumque statim, uno tempore et tamen distincte, maxime mirum.* Haneberg, a more recent commentator, regards the water and the blood as parallel to the bloody sweat on the Mount of Olives. The fundamental conditions for such a phenomenon are present in the human body, but the phenomenon does not occur unless some miraculous influence is at work.

St. John's words in his gospel and the reference in his first epistle seem to show plainly that he looked upon the occurrence as miraculous. There are three reasons that justify us in making this assertion. The evangelist, after telling us that Jesus was dead, speaks of real blood and real water as coming out immediately from the body when the side was opened. The blood and water flowed separately, and particular stress is laid upon this point in the first epistle of St. John, which is frequently regarded as a supplement to the gospel. In verse 35 he emphasizes the fact of his having been an eyewitness, and, therefore, the trustworthiness of his testimony, by means of a peculiarly solemn and weighty phrase, the purpose of which is unmistakable.[1]

He declares that the occurrence just described served to strengthen men's faith and to fulfill a Messianic prophecy. St. John never writes thus of any natural event, however important. Many commentators from the earliest times down to the present day have looked upon the flow of blood and water from our Lord's side as miraculous. Among those who have taken this view may be mentioned St. Cyril of Jerusalem[2] (who compares it with the miracle wrought by Moses in Egypt when the water was turned into blood), St. Ambrose,[3] Euthymius, and Theophylact,[4] St. Thomas Aquinas,[5] Lyranus, Toletus, Cornelius à Lapide, Sylveira, Jansenius, and Belser. Belser (p. 433) says

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[1] Jansenius: *qua tanta inculcatione indicat, se rem revera valde insolitam et miraculosam narrasse, quaeque magnam contineret mysterium.*
[2] Catech. xiii. 21.
[3] In Luc. c. 23.
[4] *Ad loc.*
[5] Summa iii. quaest. 60, art. 4.

that by an act of His omnipotence our Saviour broke His own heart, and that this is what the evangelist intends to convey to us. This interpretation removes all the difficulties which medical science might raise if the occurrence were purely natural.

Mystic significance of the blood and water. Various answers are given to the question as to why St. John recorded this wonderful event. Some think that it was to afford his readers perfect certainty regarding the death of Jesus; others that it was to refute the error of those heretics who taught that Jesus was Man in outward appearance only. Cornelius à Lapide explains the deeper significance and the ultimate reason of St. John's statement and says: *hoc factum est ad mysterium, non ad meritum; meritum enim in morte Christus consummavit, nec enim, jam mortuus mereri potuit.* St. Augustine discusses fully the mystic significance of the whole episode. He points out first, that the Latin translator did well in rendering νύσσειν by *aperire,* because this verb vividly expresses the truth symbolized by the flow of blood and water, viz., that the Messianic means of salvation are the fruit of Christ's work of redemption on the cross.[1]

The water is regarded as the symbol of the Sacrament of Baptism, the blood as that of the Sacrament of the Altar, but as Baptism is the *principium* and the Eucharist the *finis et complementum* of all the sacraments, St. Augustine says that the sacraments of the Church flowed from the wound in Christ's side. The expression corresponds with the mystic significance attached by the Fathers of the Church to the occurrence. He means to say: the blood and water flowing from Christ's wounded side symbolize the truth that the sacraments of the Church are based upon His death on the cross, and that the graces which we derive from them are due to the merits of His redemption. As the Church of Christ is founded upon and supported by the sacraments, it also is said to have proceeded from the wound in our Lord's side. Thus in the hymn at Matins on the feast of the Sacred Heart we read:

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[1] August. Tract. in Joann., 120, 2: *vigilanti verbo evangelista usus est, ut non diceret, latus ejus percussit, aut vulneravit aut quid aliud, sed: aperuit, ut illic quodammodo vitae ostium panderetur, unde sacramenta ecclesiae manaverunt, sine quibus ad vitam, quae vera est, non intratur. Ille sanguis in remissionem fusus est peccatorum; aqua illa salutare temperat poculum; haec et lavacrum praestat et potum.*

Ex corde scisso ecclesia
Christo jugata nascitur;
Hoc ostium arcae in latere est
Genti ad salutem positum.

St. John adds to his account the solemn asseveration: "And he that saw it hath given testimony, and his testimony is true. And he knoweth that he saith true; that you also may believe." These words are exceptionally impressive, and the reason for their being so is that St. John had a very lofty object in view. As usual he speaks of himself in the third person, and emphasizes the truth of his testimony and the fact that he was an eyewitness. In quite general terms he says that "he who saw *it* hath given testimony." The pronoun is often regarded as referring exclusively to the blood and water flowing from our Lord's side, but the words that follow suggest that we should take the reference as including also the omission of the *crurifragium* and the thrust with the lance, although the chief stress is laid upon the blood and water. St. John's use of the perfect tense, "hath given testimony," indicates that the testimony had been given in the past, but its validity was permanent. The apostle actually witnessed what he records, and can lay claim to perfect trustworthiness, and therefore his testimony concerning what took place after our Lord's death is intended to confirm his readers in their belief that Jesus was indeed the Messiah foretold by types and prophecies, and that His death on the cross was the Messianic work of redemption.

The evangelist points out that when the soldiers refrained from breaking our Lord's legs, they fulfilled the prophecy "You shall not break a bone of him." These words form part of the rules relating to the preparation of the Paschal lamb, which had to be roasted whole.[1] As Christ is the antitype of the Jewish Paschal lamb,[2] the words were perfectly fulfilled only when He was sacrificed on Golgotha for all mankind. The omission of the *crurifragium* had, however, also a deep symbolical significance. It represents the unity of the family of God's followers established by Christ's atonement, and it indicates the truth that the Church possesses Christ whole and undivided, and the full abundance of all the graces bestowed through Him upon the human race, and also that she is the channel whereby these graces reach her members.

When the soldier opened our Lord's side instead of breaking His legs, the words were fulfilled which God spoke to the Jews through Zacharias:[3] "they shall look upon me whom they pierced." St. John records primarily the fact that the Jews present at the crucifixion watched the soldier as he

[1] Exod. xii. 46. [2] 1 Cor. v. 7. [3] Zach. xii. 10.

opened our Lord's side, and consequently were witnesses of the fulfillment of the prophecy; but his employment of the words ὁρᾶν εἰς suggests that another prophecy of Zacharias, concerning the eventful repentance and conversion of the Jews, will also be fulfilled. This fulfillment began even on Calvary, when many of the spectators went home striking their breasts in token of contrition;[1] it continued after St. Peter's first sermon,[2] and it will be completed before the end of the world.[3]

V. The Burial of Christ

Matthew xxvii. 57–61

57. And when it was evening there came a certain rich man of Arimathea, named Joseph, who also himself was a disciple of Jesus.

58. He went to Pilate and asked the body of Jesus. Then Pilate commanded that the body should be delivered.

59. And Joseph taking the body, wrapt it up in a clean linen cloth.

60. And laid it in his own new monument, which he had hewed out in a rock. And he rolled a great stone to the door of the monument, and went his way.

61. And there was there Mary Magdalen and the other Mary sitting over against the sepulchre.

Mark xv. 42–47

42. And when evening was now come (because it was the Parasceve, that is, the day before the Sabbath)

43. Joseph of Arimathea, a noble counsellor, who was also himself looking for the kingdom of God, came and went in boldly to Pilate, and begged the body of Jesus.

44. But Pilate wondered that he should be already dead. And sending for the centurion, he asked him if he were already dead.

45. And when he had understood it by the centurion, he gave the body to Joseph.

46. And Joseph buying fine linen, and taking him down, wrapped him up in the fine linen and laid him in a sepulchre, which was hewed out of a rock. And he rolled a stone to the door of the sepulchre.

47. And Mary Magdalen and Mary the mother of Joseph beheld where he was laid.

Luke xxiii. 50–53

50. And behold there was a man named Joseph, who was a counsellor, a good and a just man:

51. (The same had not consented to their counsel and doings) of Arimathea, a city of Judea, who also himself looked for the kingdom of God.

52. This man went to Pilate, and begged the body of Jesus.

53. And taking him down, he

John xix. 38–39

38. After these things Joseph of Arimathea (because he was a disciple of Jesus but secretly for fear of the Jews) besought Pilate that he might take away the body of Jesus. And Pilate gave leave. He came therefore and took away the body of Jesus.

39. And Nicodemus also came, he who at first came to Jesus by night, bringing a mixture of myrrh and

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[1] Luke xxiii. 48. [2] Acts ii. 37 *seqq.* [3] Rom. xi. 25 *seqq.*

LUKE xxiii. 54–56

wrapped him in fine linen, and laid him in a sepulchre that was hewed in stone, wherein never yet any man had been laid.

54. And it was the day of the Parasceve, and the sabbath drew on.

55. And the women that were come with him from Galilee, following after saw the sepulchre, and how his body was laid.

56. And returning, they prepared spices and ointments; and on the sabbath day they rested according to the commandment.

JOHN xix. 40–42

aloes, about an hundred pound weight.

40. They took therefore the body of JESUS, and bound it in linen cloths with the spices, as the manner of the Jews is to bury.

41. Now there was in the place, where he was crucified, a garden; and in the garden, a new sepulchre, wherein no man yet had been laid.

42. There therefore because of the Parasceve of the Jews, they laid JESUS, because the sepulchre was nigh at hand.

Lyranus introduces his account of the descent from the cross and the burial of Christ with the words, *mors ignominiosa, sepultura nobilis et sumptuosa.* Inanimate nature had expressed its sympathy, and through the wonderful events that occurred it gave utterance to the fact that its Lord had died on the cross; Gentiles had understood this emphatic language and had proclaimed their inference that the Crucified was the Son of God; and even many Jews, who saw what took place, were filled with contrition. Now the disciples, hitherto held back by fear, approached and boldly honored their Master's body with a burial worthy of a king. St. Luke tells us that all our Lord's acquaintance had stood watching, and now we hear of two men who played a prominent part in burying our Lord. We have already seen that the Romans were accustomed to leave the bodies of persons crucified on their crosses until the flesh rotted away or was devoured by wild animals. From the reign of Augustus onward, however, it became usual to hand over the corpses to relatives for burial. The Jewish law required them to be taken down and buried before nightfall; and consequently, soon after our Lord's death, His body was taken down and laid in the tomb. The task was not entrusted to the Jews, who had rejected Him, but was performed most reverently by the disciples, who undertook it, partly because they wished to show honor to their Master, partly because the prophets had foretold that His burial should be carried out with great solemnity.

The hour of our Lord's burial. According to all four evangelists, Christ's body was taken down from the cross and

prepared for burial late in the afternoon of the 15th of Nisan, not long before the beginning of the Sabbath at sunset (6 P.M.). After the body was laid in the tomb the women still had time to return to the town and buy spices and unguents[1] before sunset, consequently the burial must have taken place about 5 P.M.

Joseph of Arimathea. The evangelists tell us that he came from the little town of Ramathain, the birthplace of Samuel, and had settled in Jerusalem, where he possessed a private sepulchre. Being a wealthy man and a member of the Sanhedrin, he was highly respected, and was moreover greatly esteeemd on account of his piety and justice. He was a secret disciple of Jesus and looked forward with eager longing to the establishment of the Messianic kingdom. St. Luke says that Joseph had not consented to the counsel and doings of the Sanhedrin, so we may probably assume that he was present at the assembly when Jesus was condemned, but through fear of the Jews had raised no protest, although he did not acquiesce in the verdict. This theory is not incompatible with St. Mark's statement[2] that *all* the members of the council condemned our Lord, for a single exception would hardly deserve notice. On the other hand it is quite possible that Joseph of Arimathea took no part in the deliberations of the Sanhedrin, and may have had no opportunity of speaking in our Lord's defence. St. Matthew calls Joseph a rich man; his wealth is often regarded as the reason why he dared to go boldly to Pilate and why his request was so readily granted. The allusion to his riches indicates the influence exerted by Christ even upon those exposed to the temptations and allurements of great possessions. It is possible that St. Matthew, who frequently refers to Old Testament prophecies, mentions that Joseph was rich, because he saw in this fact the fulfillment of a prophecy relating to our Lord's burial.[3] The Vulgate reading of the passage in Isaias is, "He shall give the ungodly for his burial and the rich for his death," and according to the original Hebrew text the meaning is: the Jews, who caused Jesus to die on the cross, destined for Him a burial with the ungodly; in reality, however, in consequence of divine interposition, He was buried in a rich man's sepulchre.[4] According to one tradition, the Jews, about a year after our Lord's

[1] Luke xxiii. 56.
[2] xiv. 64.
[3] Isa. liii. 9.
[4] Compare Knabenb. Isaias, 605.

ascension, put Joseph of Arimathea, Lazarus, Mary Magdalen, Martha, and their servant Marcella on a ship without a rudder, and exposed them thus to the perils of the sea. Joseph is said to have reached Massilia (Marseilles) in safety and to have journeyed across Gaul to Britain, where he died.[1]

This man went boldly, as St. Mark says, to Pilate, and begged the body of Jesus. It needed great courage to make this request, for not only was Joseph certain to bring down upon himself the wrath of the Sanhedrists, but he was acting in a manner opposed to all the prejudices of the upper classes, who would regard it as derogatory for a member of the council to provide for the burial of a man who had been crucified. He derived his courage not, as frequently happens, from his riches, but from the merits of Christ's redemption, which transformed completely the previously timid disciple.[2] By divine ordinance Joseph's former timid and perhaps cowardly behavior served to display the power and efficacy of the grace of Christ. According to St. Mark, Pilate was surprised that Jesus was already dead, but being convinced from the centurion's official report that death had actually taken place, he gave the body to Joseph, without raising any opposition. There is no difficulty in reconciling this statement with that of St. John, who says that the Jews begged the procurator to allow the legs of those crucified to be broken. In all probability Joseph went to Pilate as soon as our Lord had breathed His last, and as he appeared before the procurator very shortly after the Jews had proffered their request, the latter might reasonably wonder whether the *crurifragium* had already taken place, for he must have been well aware that the Jews' object was to hasten the death of Jesus. The centurion may have just returned from the place of execution to the barracks when Pilate sent for him. It was no doubt due to divine ordinance that he was called upon to give an official report[3] of the death of Jesus, as thus he bore conclusive testimony to the fact that our Lord had really died.

Nicodemus co-operated with Joseph of Arimathea in making arrangements for the burial. He is mentioned (three times) by St. John, but by

[1] Baron. Ann. ad a. 35, n. 5.

[2] Jansenius: *Hinc emicare incipit virtus Dominicae passionis, quod ita subito in alium virum mutatus sit.*

[3] Maldonatus comments anent this report: *omnia divino facta sunt consilio.*

none of the other evangelists. He belonged to the strict sect of Pharisees, who tried to uphold the national independence of the Jews; he was a member of the Sanhedrin and was advanced in years when he first came into contact with Jesus. Just three years before the crucifixion he came to our Lord, who was keeping the Pasch in Jerusalem for the first time.[1] Nicodemus then acknowledged that Jesus was a prophet sent from God, and received instruction regarding the conditions of admission to the Messianic kingdom, the necessity of spiritual rebirth, and the source whence proceeds the power that is able to regenerate mankind, as well as the subjective conditions of its attainment. About six months before our Lord's death we hear of Nicodemus speaking as a member of the Sanhedrin in defence of Jesus, and by his boldness frustrating the designs of the council against Him.[2] For the third and last time we hear of Nicodemus at our Lord's burial. St. John's account reads as though Joseph of Arimathea acted alone in going to Pilate, and Nicodemus seems to have taken no part in removing Christ's body from the cross. The Acts of Pilate[3] state also that Joseph went alone to Pilate, Nicodemus having refused to accompany him because he feared the procurator's anger. It is quite in harmony with the evangelist's account to assume that, as soon as Jesus was dead, Joseph went to beg his body from Pilate, and, when his request was granted, hastened back to Calvary and superintended the descent from the cross; Nicodemus, having in the meantime gone to the city to fetch the spices needed for the burial, found on his return that our Lord's body was already taken down.

Preparations for the burial. The best account of these preparations is given by St. John,[4] who remarks that they were in accordance with the Jewish custom. In the first place the eyes and the mouth of the corpse were closed, then the body was washed and wrapped in a clean cloth, separate cloths being wound round head, hands, and feet, and care being taken to bend the right thumb towards the palm, so as to make it resemble the first letter of the name Yahweh. Fragrant spices were sprinkled between the body and the cloths, and over the latter liquid perfumes were poured with a view to deferring decomposition. Sometimes perfumes were rubbed on the body itself. Both from Biblical and profane sources,[5] we learn that among the Jews costly unguents were lavished on kings and great men, and much incense was burnt at their burial. Real embalming, as practised by the Egyptians, was never a Jewish custom, since it involved dissection of the body, which the Jews abhorred for religious reasons. Jacob and Joseph were embalmed,[6] but theirs were exceptional cases, as their bodies were to be carried eventually to Palestine, and therefore had to be preserved from

[1] John iii. 1 *seqq.*
[2] John vii. 50.
[3] B. xi. 3 (Tisch. 311 *seqq.*).
[4] xix. 40.
[5] Paral. xvi. 14; xxi. 19; Flav. Jos. Ant. xvii. 8, 3; B. J. 1, 33, 9.
[6] Gen. L. 2, 25.

decay as far as possible. The synoptic evangelists say that our Lord's body was wrapped in a clean cloth; it was certainly not made of cotton, as some commentators assume, but of linen, woven from flax.[1] The official robes of a Jewish priest were of linen, symbolizing the inward purity that they should strive to possess in order worthily to discharge their priestly functions, and the body of Him who was the most pure and supreme high priest was wrapped in linen. Stress is laid upon this symbolical interpretation by St. Matthew's remark that the cloth was clean.[2] St. John's account seems to imply that the linen was cut into broad strips, so that it might be wrapped round our Lord's hands and feet. The same evangelist tells us with great precision that Nicodemus came bringing a mixture of myrrh and aloes, about an hundred pound weight. The myrrh was in the form of oil, and the aloes in that of powder. The large amount need not surprise us, for we are not told that the whole was used in the preparation of the body for burial; it is quite possible that part of the spices were strewn in the sepulchre, and part may have been burnt. Flavius Josephus[3] says that five hundred slaves and freedmen bearing censers followed in the funeral procession of Herod the Great. In all probability our Lord's body was not anointed; the pious women had intended to anoint it after the Sabbath,[4] but could not do so, as in the meantime He had risen. According to the apocryphal Acts of Pilate,[5] our Lord's mother, Mary Magdalen, Salome, John, and the women present, all took part in the task of preparing His body for burial.

Shape and position of the sepulchre. Jews, especially if they were wealthy, preferred to bury their dead in chambers hewn in solid rock, which were reached through a low doorway. The separate graves were hewn either in the floor or in the sides of these chambers. Those in the floor were called vertical graves, and were less common than those in the sides. The latter have, since the time of Titus Tobler, been classified as follows: (1) thrust-graves, quadrangular galleries cut lengthwise into the rock, into which the bodies were thrust horizontally; these may be regarded as the usual type of Jewish grave; (2) shelf-graves, in which the corpses were laid on stone shelves running along the side of the rock and frequently hewn into it, so that a sort of overhanging vault was formed. The shelves were about two

[1] Lyran.: *panno lineo et mundo. Propter quod corpus Christi non consecratur super pannum sericum, sed linum, quia corpus Christi in sepulchro tali panno erat involutum.*
[2] Mald.: *corpus Christi mundissimum.*
[3] Ant. xvii. 8, 3; B. J. 1, 39, 9.
[4] Mark xvi. 1.
[5] B. xi. 4 (Tisch. 313).

feet from the floor, 6 or 6½ feet in length, and 20 inches in width; (3) trough-graves, cut to the length of the human body, and hollowed out vertically in the walls.[1]

The evangelists furnish us with several details regarding our Lord's place of burial. It was a single grave, which Joseph of Arimathea had caused to be made for himself, and it was situated very near to Golgotha. It was selected as a suitable sepulchre for our Lord, partly on account of its proximity, and partly on account of its distinction. It had a small entrance chamber, from which a low doorway opened into the actual sepulchre; the latter was comparatively spacious, since it was large enough to contain Peter and John as well as the two angels in the form of youths. Our Lord's body was placed so as to be visible from outside through the aperture. The evangelists emphasize the fact that the sepulchre was new and had not hitherto been used.[2]

We have already discussed the authenticity of the places venerated as the scene of Christ's crucifixion and burial.

In his *Liber de terra sancta* (about 530 A.D.) Theodosius states that the distance from Mount Calvary to the Holy Sepulchre is fifteen paces. The *Itinerarium Burdigalense* describes it as a stone's throw: *Inde (scil. a Golgotha) quasi ad lapidis missum est crypta, ubi corpus ejus positum fuit et tertio die surrexit.* The holy sepulchre lay to the northwest of Golgotha, on the other side of the road, to which there is apparently an allusion in Matthew xxvii. 39.[3]

St. Luke says that the women who had come with Jesus from Galilee followed Him to the sepulchre, and St. Matthew and St. Mark state that Mary Magdalen and the other Mary (i.e., Mary the wife of Cleophas, mother of James and Joseph) sat "over against the sepulchre" to see where our Lord was laid, for they intended to return and anoint His body as soon as the Sabbath was over.

The *Acta Pilati*[4] supplement the brief account given by the evangelists. According to them, Mary, the mother of Jesus, was also present at His burial; she shed bitter tears and declared that the prophecy uttered by aged Simeon in the Temple was at length fulfilled, but, at the same time, she protested that she looked forward to the time when her Son should rise

[1] Jewish Encycl., article on tombs.
[2] August.: *sicut in Mariae virginis utero nemo ante illum, nemo post illum conceptus est, ita in hoc monumento novo nemo ante illum, nemo post illum sepultus est.*
[3] Compare Mommert, Golgotha, 1–20.
[4] B. xi. 5, 6 (Tisch. 313, 314).

again from the dead as He had promised. Mary Magdalen, too, stood weeping beside the sepulchre, pointing out how the Jews in return for all the benefits received from Jesus had given Him up to a shameful death, and charging Pilate with injustice for having yielded to the demands of the people. She even said that she was prepared to go herself to the Emperor in Rome and publish to the whole world the wrong which had been committed. Although these statements are legendary, they agree with the feelings of fervent love and gratitude entertained by the penitent woman toward her Master and Benefactor.

When the women at last left the sepulchre and returned to Jerusalem, after the burial of Jesus, they busied themselves, before the Sabbath began, with the preparation of spices and ointments, in order to be ready, as soon as the Sabbath was over, to go and anoint our Lord's body.

VI. The Sepulchre is Sealed and Guarded

Matthew xxvii. 62–66

62. And the next day, which followed the day of preparation, the chief priests and the Pharisees came together to Pilate,

63. Saying: Sir, we have remembered, that that seducer said, while he was yet alive: After three days I will rise again.

64. Command therefore the sepulchre to be guarded until the third day: lest perhaps his disciples come and steal him away, and say to the people, He is risen from the dead; and the last error shall be worse than the first.

65. Pilate said to them: You have a guard: go, guard it as you know.

66. And they departing, made the sepulchre sure, sealing the stone, and setting guards.

St. Matthew alone gives an account of the sealing and guarding of the sepulchre. In reply to David Strauss, Hug[1] has proved that, if we consider the actual state of affairs and the motives of our Lord's enemies we are forced to admit that this account bears every appearance of being historically accurate, and cannot be arbitrarily regarded as legendary.

The application for a guard was made and granted "the next day, which followed the day of preparation," i.e., on the Sabbath, the day after our Lord's crucifixion. Various reasons have been suggested for St. Matthew's unusual circumlocution, and his avoidance of the ordinary word "Sabbath." Some commentators, both ancient and modern, think that by selecting this phrase the evangelist wished to designate the Sabbath more emphatically as a day of rest and thus to lay stress upon the illegality of the Jews' action. It is, however, more probable that we have here an expression borrowed from Christian usage. As the followers of Christ habitually called the day of His death the Parasceve, i.e., day of preparation, St. Matthew speaks

[1] Gutachten, 2,[2] 202–208.

of the day after the Parasceve in order to make it quite clear to his readers that the sepulchre was sealed and a guard set on the day next after our Lord's death.

Accordingly on this day the chief priests and Pharisees, members of the Sanhedrin, went to Pilate and stated what they feared and desired. They went as a deputation on behalf of the whole council. We cannot decide with certainty whether their interview with Pilate took place in the morning[1] or in the evening[2] of the Sabbath; good arguments can be brought forward in support of both views, but on the whole it seems more likely that the Jews went to Pilate in the morning, because their hatred and fear would impel them to take with the least delay possible all precautionary measures. It is not surprising that the Sanhedrists, being already tortured by an uneasy conscience, disregarded the law regarding the Sabbath, and approached the palace of the Gentile procurator heedless of the defilement that they would thus incur. They probably thought that while they could make good for the violation of the Sabbath and cleanse themselves from the legal defilement, they could not make good the harm that might arise from delay on their part. The Sanhedrists were, moreover, not likely to feel much scruple in breaking the Sabbath if thus they had an opportunity of expressing their hatred of the crucified Messiah. It was, therefore, in all probability early[3] on the following day that the Jews approached Pilate, saying, "Sir, we have remembered that that seducer said, while he was yet alive: 'After three days I will rise again.'" The word "seducer" was the expression of the hatred of the Sanhedrists. Six months before his death the Messiah had been described at a public meeting of the Sanhedrin as a seducer of the people, and His adherents were said to have been seduced by Him.[4] We can see indeed from St. John's gospel that this serious accusation had been brought against Him much earlier and that some of the populace had concurred in it, for a few days before the meeting of the Sanhedrin to which we have just alluded, some of the multitude, acting under the influence of the Sanhedrists, spoke of Jesus as seducing the people.[5] The Jews now repeated the same charge after His crucifixion, de-

[1] Acta Pilati, B. xii. 2 (Tisch. 315), Jansenius, and others.
[2] Reischl. and Bisp.
[3] Acta Pilati.
[4] Compare John vii. 47.
[5] John vii. 12.

claring Jesus to be a seducer, because they said that although He was a sinner,[1] He had taught at the instigation of the devil[2] that He was the Messiah and the Son of God, had worked miracles with the help of the devils,[3] and had stirred up the people to resist the law of Moses, and the Roman supremacy.

Though the Sanhedrists had the courage to malign our Saviour after His death, they looked forward with considerable anxiety to the future, having remembered His words that He would rise again after three days. At the very beginning of His public ministry Jesus alluded in symbolical language to His approaching death and resurrection,[4] but the plain, definite prediction of them was made only to His disciples, and St. Matthew tells us[5] that after Peter's solemn profession of faith this subject formed a chief part of the instructions given by our Lord. If it is asked how the Sanhedrists had heard of this prediction, we may reply that in course of time it probably became more widely known, or else Judas may have given them information regarding it. It is, of course, possible that they had by this time some suspicion of the true meaning of Christ's sayings at the judicial proceedings before the Sanhedrin.

The Sanhedrists, therefore, requested Pilate to give orders for the tomb to be guarded, lest the disciples should steal the body of Jesus, and then cause disturbances by spreading false reports of His resurrection. The details are so completely in harmony with the whole state of affairs that it is impossible to doubt their historical accuracy. If it is asked why the Sanhedrists did not take steps to guard the body as soon as it was removed from the cross, the evangelist supplies the answer, for he says that they did not remember the prediction until after our Lord was laid in the sepulchre. Moreover, this point cannot be urged against the authenticity of the narrative, since history furnishes many instances of men who, though their schemes were well planned and carefully considered, failed to take some one important factor into account. Some critics maintain that the fear felt by the Jews was groundless, and therefore any report of it must necessarily be liable to suspicion. But the Jews had undoubtedly observed all that took place at the burial of Jesus, and what they saw did not allay their apprehensions. Distinguished men had

[1] John ix. 24. [2] John viii. 48. [3] Matthew xii. 24.
[4] John ii. 19. [5] xvi. 21.

boldly come forward and buried Jesus with great honor; it would not be long before the vast multitude of His adherents recovered their courage, and great indeed would be the danger if a report of His resurrection was circulated. The attitude of the people was such that the danger would be great even if His resurrection were purely fictitious. The Sanhedrists had good reason for their alarm, and there is no ground for distrusting St. Matthew's account. In their anxiety they told Pilate that the last error would be worse than the first. They looked upon Jesus as a deceiver, and upon His followers as deceived, but in reality they had deceived themselves and the whole nation. This self-deception was already ominous, for their Messiah had been taken away from them; it was intensified when punishment was inflicted soon after upon His murderers, — the terrible punishment which Josephus has described in such realistic language in his *Jewish Wars*.

Pilate could not refuse the Sanhedrists' request, because they based it upon a desire to preserve peace and order, but his curt answer indicated his annoyance and showed that he wished to have nothing more to do with the whole affair.[1] We see from the next chapter in St. Matthew's gospel that the guard consisted of Roman soldiers, and not of the Jewish guards; when Pilate said, "You have a guard," he meant that the men were at the Sanhedrists' disposal. Josephus tells us that at great festivals Roman soldiers were stationed at many points in the Temple to keep order,[2] and some of these men could be employed by the Sanhedrists to guard our Lord's sepulchre. Some commentators[3] think that the soldiers who had been on duty at the crucifixion were now appointed to watch the tomb. We know nothing as to their number; there may have been four, or possibly an entire guard detachment of sixteen men, but the author of the apocryphal *Acta Pilati*[4] is certainly guilty of exaggeration in stating that Pilate gave the Jews a body of five hundred soldiers for the purpose of guarding the sepulchre. In addition to the guard, the sepulchre was sealed, which could be done in two ways: either strings were passed across the stone blocking the entrance, and sealed at both ends and also onto the stone, or

[1] Jansenius: *significavit se invitum rebus ipsorum ulterius se immiscere.*
[2] Ant. xx. 5, 3; 8, 11; B. J. ii. 12, 1; v. 5, 8.
[3] Corn. à Lap. and Jansenius.
[4] B. xii. 2 (Tisch. 316).

seals were attached to the cross-beam that kept the stone in place. Many commentators refer to the manner in which Darius sealed the stone when Daniel was cast into the den of lions; we read there that "a stone was brought and laid upon the mouth of the den, which the king sealed with his own ring and with the ring of his nobles, that nothing should be done against Daniel.[1] The care with which the sepulchre was sealed and guarded manifested, on the one hand, the intense hatred and mad fury of the Jews, but on the other hand it serves to confirm our faith, for all that the Jews accomplished by their proceedings was to render the fact of Christ's resurrection absolutely certain.[2]

Tabular Survey of the Events occurring between the Last Supper and the Burial of Christ

HOLY THURSDAY

The Paschal Supper: Institution of the Most Holy Eucharist, beginning about 7 P.M. and ending shortly before midnight.

GOOD FRIDAY

1. The agony in the Garden and the seizure of Jesus about midnight.
2. Examination of Jesus by Annas soon after midnight.
3. Night session of the Sanhedrin from between 1 and 2 A.M to 3 A.M. Jesus is found guilty of blasphemy.
4. Immediately after His condemnation Jesus is insulted and ill treated, first by the Sanhedrists in the council chamber, and, after leaving it, by the attendants.
5. Morning session of the Sanhedrin at about 5 A.M. Jesus is handed over to Pilate.
6. The first examination of Jesus by Pilate, before 6 A.M.
7. Jesus is insulted by Herod.
8. Pilate's attempts to save Him.
9. Jesus is scourged and mocked.
10. *Ecce Homo.*
11. Formal condemnation of Jesus.

Probably between 6 and 7 A.M. (or between 6 and 11 A.M.?)

12. The way of the cross, and the crucifixion of Jesus, between 9 A.M. and noon (or between 11 A.M. and noon?).
13. Darkness from noon until 3 P.M.
14. Jesus dies at 3 P.M.
15. Wonderful occurrences immediately after His death.
16. A soldier opens his side with a lance after 3 P.M.
17. Jesus is laid in the tomb about 5 P.M.

HOLY SATURDAY

The sepulchre is sealed and a guard set, probably during the morning.

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[1] Jerome, *ad loc.*: *ut diligentia eorum nostrae fidei proficeret.*
[2] Dan. vi. 17.

Part II

THE GLORY OF JESUS CHRIST

SECTION I

CHRIST'S RESURRECTION AND MANIFESTATIONS

IN this section we have to discuss the mutual relation of the accounts given by the four evangelists of what took place at the Resurrection and of our Lord's self-manifestations to the disciples. Further, we must consider the points peculiar to each evangelist. A harmonistic discussion of this subject is extremely interesting, but presents many difficulties.

I. The Accounts of the Four Gospels

St. Matthew agrees with the other evangelists in saying that certain women visited the sepulchre very early on Easter Sunday. He alone records the wonderful events that took place there after our Lord's resurrection, viz., the earthquake, and the descent from heaven of an angel who rolled back the stone, filling the soldiers on guard with terror. St. Mark and St. Luke also speak of the conversation between the angel (or angels) and the women, but only St. Matthew and St. Mark say that the women were commissioned to tell the apostles that Christ had risen and would go before them into Galilee, where they should see Him again. It is only from St. Matthew's gospel that we learn how Jesus met the women as they were hurrying back to the city after a visit to the sepulchre, and, as they took hold of His feet and adored Him, that He repeated the message to the apostles which the angel had already given them. Peculiar to St. Matthew is the account of the return of the guards to the city and their report to the chief priests; in fact this evangelist alone gives us any information concerning the watch set to guard the sepulchre. Beyond these statements, as to the events that occurred early in the morning and in the forenoon at the sepulchre, on the way to the town, and in the town itself, St. Matthew tells us nothing except that Jesus met His eleven apostles on a mountain in Galilee, previously designated by

Him, and there commissioned them to teach all nations. Therefore St. Matthew records only two appearances of our Lord: first, the one to the women who had visited the sepulchre on Easter Sunday, and second, the one to the apostles in Galilee, more than a week later.

St. Mark's account of the women's visit to the sepulchre is, as we have already seen, shorter than St. Matthew's, but he adds the detail that they wondered who would remove the stone for them, and that on their arrival they found it rolled back. Like St. Matthew, he says that the angel sent the women to carry the news to the apostles, but he mentions Peter separately. St. Mark does not allude to our Lord's meeting with the women, but says that they fled from the sepulchre, because trembling and fear had seized them. He refers very briefly to the appearances of our risen Saviour. He describes how Mary Magdalen met her Master on the morning of the resurrection, and says that Christ appeared *first* to her. He just mentions our Lord's meeting with the two disciples on their way to Emmaus, and speaks rather more fully of His appearance to the assembled apostles, His repetition of their apostolic commission, and His promise of the powers to be bestowed upon the faithful. We hope to show in a subsequent section that this appearance took place in Jerusalem, just before the Ascension. Thus St. Mark mentions three occasions on which our Lord appeared after His resurrection: (1) on the morning of Easter Sunday He appeared to Mary Magdalen; (2) in the forenoon of the same day He appeared to the two disciples at Emmaus, and (3) he appeared probably on the very day of His ascension to all the apostles. All these three appearances took place in Jerusalem or in its immediate neighborhood.

St. Luke's account of the women's visit to the sepulchre is brief, but contains some characteristic features, and his remark at its conclusion supplements the reports given by the other evangelists. He agrees with St. Mark in saying that the women went to the sepulchre, taking with them spices to anoint our Lord's body, but he describes more fully their great alarm and their behavior. His account of their conversation with the angels at the sepulchre has two peculiarities: (1) he speaks of *two* angels, whereas St. Matthew and St. Mark mention only *one;* (2) he does not allude to the message that the women were

to convey to the apostles, but he records the angel's statement that Jesus had foretold His own death and resurrection. With even more emphasis than St. Matthew does St. Luke insist upon the fact that the apostles refused to believe the women's story. After a short reference to the visit paid by Peter to the sepulchre, St. Luke enumerates three appearances of our risen Lord, viz., (1) to the disciples at Emmaus, and (2) on the same day to these two disciples and the eleven apostles, and (3) once more to the apostles. The appearance last mentioned by St. Luke may probably be identified with the last mentioned by St. Mark. There is, moreover, an allusion to our Lord's appearance to St. Peter. Thus St. Luke records four occasions on which Jesus was seen after His resurrection; viz., on Easter Sunday He appeared to St. Peter, to the two disciples at Emmaus, and, late in the evening, to the apostles, to whom He appeared again on the day of His ascension. In every case He was seen either in or near Jerusalem. St. Luke alone tells us that our Lord proved the necessity of His resurrection by reference to prophecies in the Old Testament.

St. John's account differs considerably from those of the synoptic evangelists. He just mentions the women's visit to the sepulchre on the morning of the resurrection, but goes on to describe how Mary Magdalen ran to tell the apostles that the stone had been removed. A detailed and vivid description follows (1) of the visit paid to the tomb by St. Peter and St. John, and (2) of four appearances of our Lord, viz.: (a) to Mary Magdalen as she stood by the sepulchre after the two apostles had gone away; (b) to all the apostles, with the exception of Thomas, on the evening of Easter Sunday; (c) eight days later to all the apostles, including Thomas, and (d) to seven disciples at the Lake of Tiberias in Galilee, where, after the miraculous draught of fishes, our Lord bade the apostles eat, and then appointed Peter to be the supreme shepherd of the universal Church. Thus in St. John's gospel we read of four occasions when Jesus appeared, — three in Jerusalem and one in Galilee. In giving these detailed accounts St. John plainly intended to strengthen the apostles' faith in the reality of Christ's resurrection, and in the essential identity of the body with which He rose and His previous body. We shall have to bear these facts in mind when we deal again with the subject. In two respects

the accounts given by St. John and St. Matthew resemble each other. St. Luke and, we think, St. Mark, record only those appearances which occurred in Judea, whereas the other two evangelists refer also to Galilee. Moreover, the latter tell us how our glorified Redeemer bestowed apostolic authority upon the eleven; St. Matthew says that the apostles were commissioned to teach all mankind, and St. John that they received power to forgive sins, and that Peter was appointed head of the universal Church.

We have also to consider the persons to whom Jesus appeared according to the statements of the evangelists. On the morning of Easter Sunday He was seen first by Mary Magdalen, and soon afterwards by the other women, when they came to pay a second visit to the sepulchre. A comparison of the accounts given by the synoptic writers shows that this group of women consisted of Mary (whom St. Matthew calls "the other Mary" to distinguish her from our Lord's mother, while St. Mark and St. Luke describe her as the mother of James), Salome, the wife of Zebedee, and a certain Joanna, who may probably be identified with Joanna the wife of Herod's steward Chusa, mentioned by St. Luke in chapter viii, verse 3. St. Luke adds that there were other women with them, but the order in which he mentions them shows that our Lord's mother was not present. Jesus appeared then to Simon Peter, the chief of the apostles, but we know no details of this occurrence, which is just mentioned by St. Luke,[1] although we can infer from the context that it took place on the day of the resurrection, before He met the two disciples at Emmaus. Of the latter St. Luke mentions only one, Cleophas by name: the theories of ancient commentators regarding the other will be considered in the section dealing with this subject.

The evangelists record five occasions on which Christ appeared to the apostles collectively: late in the evening of Easter Sunday, when Thomas was absent; a week later at the same place in Jerusalem when Thomas was present; on a mountain in Galilee; in Jerusalem on the day of the Ascension; and, as the fifth appearance, His meeting at the Lake of Tiberias with seven men, five of whom were certainly apostles, since St. John

[1] xxiv. 34.

says that Jesus there showed Himself again to the "disciples," and plainly classes this appearance with the other appearances of our Lord to the apostles.[1]

Did not our risen Lord show Himself to His mother? The evangelists are silent on this point, and give no indication from which we can derive an answer to this question. They tell us nothing of Our Lady from the beginning of her divine Son's agony until His ascension. They record the words that He addressed to her from the cross[2] and say that after the Ascension she was persevering in prayer with the disciples and the other women.[3]

The silence of Holy Scripture, however, by no means justifies the inference that Jesus never appeared to His mother between His resurrection and ascension. Recent commentators hardly allude to this question, but it was often discussed by earlier writers, who, as a rule, answer it in the affirmative. It is remarkable that they seldom or never refer to any testimony of previous authors, but base their argument upon Our Lady's dignity and position. A few instances may be given. Rupert of Deutz, who wrote during the first half of the twelfth century, says that Christian piety makes us desire to contemplate Mary's excessive joy when her risen Son proclaimed His triumph to her, perhaps first of all human beings, and permitted her to kiss the sacred scars of His wounds. In spite of the definite statement in Mark xvi. 9, Rupert tries to find justification for his assumption that Mary was the first to see our Lord after He had risen from the dead.[4] Maldonatus remarks briefly that it was only fitting for Christ to have appeared first to His mother, and at the same time he rebukes those commentators who expend much ingenuity in uprooting this ancient belief from the hearts of the faithful.[5] His explanation of the word πρῶτον in Mark xvi. 9 will be discussed later.

Cornelius à Lapide[6] holds the same opinion, which, he says,

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[1] xxi. 14.
[2] John xix. 25–27.
[3] Acts i. 14.
[4] Rupertus abbas tuitiensis de officiis divinis, lib. 7, c. 25 (Migne, 170, col. 205–208).
[5] Mald. ad Matth. xxviii. 16: *Primum quidem matri suae apparuisse, non quod evangelistae dicant, sed quod fieri decuerit, credendum est.*
[6] Comm. ad Matth. xxviii. 2, 10.

is *communis doctorum et fidelium sensus*, and based upon Mary's sufferings during the Passion, her dignity as mother of God, and her Son's regard for her.

It cannot be denied that the reasons which he brings forward render it highly probable that our Lord showed Himself to His mother after His resurrection.

Apparitions of Christ after His Resurrection

No.	*Reference*	*To whom He appeared*	*Time*	*Place*	*Attendant circumstances*
1	John xx. 11–18 Mark xvi. 9–11	Mary Magdalen	Early on Easter Sunday	Near the sepulchre	Mary Magdalen is commissioned to tell the apostles of our Lord's approaching Ascension.
2	Matthew xxviii. 8–10	The women visiting the sepulchre (exclusive of Mary Magdalen)	On Easter Sunday	On the way between the sepulchre and Jerusalem	The women are commissioned to tell the apostles to go to Galilee.
3	Luke xxiv. 34	Simon Peter	Some time on Easter Sunday		
4	Luke xxiv. 13–35 Mark xvi. 12, 13	The two disciples at Emmaus, one of whom was Cleophas	In the afternoon of Easter Sunday	On the way to Emmaus	Christ teaches the disciples how, according to the Scriptures, it was necessary for Him to pass through suffering in order to attain to glory. They recognize Him at the breaking of bread.
5	Luke xxiv. 36–43 John xx. 19–23	The apostles, Thomas alone being absent	Late in the evening of Easter Sunday	At Jerusalem (in the Cenaculum)	Jesus appears when the doors are shut; displays His hands, feet, and wounded side, and confers upon the apostles power to forgive sins.
6	John xx. 24–29	The apostles, Thomas being present	A week after the Resurrection	At Jerusalem (in the Cenaculum)	Jesus appears a second time when the doors are shut, and displays His wounds to Thomas, who then makes his confession of faith.
7	John xxi. 1–17	Seven disciples, of whom five were certainly apostles	Soon after the octave day of the Pasch	Beside the Lake Tiberias	Miraculous draught of fishes. Meal eaten near the lake. St. Peter is appointed to be supreme shepherd of Christ's flock.
8	Matthew xxviii. 16–20 1 Cor. xv. 6	The apostles	After our Lord's appearance near the Lake of Tiberias	On a mountain in Galilee	The apostles receive authority over the whole world and all mankind. Institution of the Sacrament of Baptism.
9	Mark xvi. 14–18 Luke xxiv. 44–49	The apostles	On Ascension day	At Jerusalem	Our Lord speaks of the effects which the teaching of the gospel will produce in the faithful. He declares that He has repeatedly pointed out the necessity of His suffering, and reveals to the apostles the meaning of the Scriptures.

Order of our Lord's Apparitions

1. *According to St. Augustine.*

(de consens evang. 3, 83)

1. Ad monumentum mulieribus.
2. Eisdem iterum regredientibus a monumento in itinere.
3. Petro.
4. Duobus euntibus in castellum.
5. Pluribus in Jerusalem, ubi non erat Thomas.
6. Ubi eum vidit Thomas.
7. Ad mare Tiberiadis.
8. In monte Galilaeae secundum Matthaeum.
9. Quod dicit Marcus "novissime recumbentibus."

2. *According to St. Jerome*

(Epist. ad Hedibiam)

In quaest. 3–5 he discusses the occasion on which Christ appeared to the women, and arranges them in the following order:

1. To Mary Magdalen and Mary wife of Cleophas, as recorded by St. Matthew.
2. To Mary Magdalen alone, on her return to the sepulchre, as recorded by St. John.

St. Jerome remarks (quaest. 5) that the order is reversed by other commentators.

(So also St. Thomas Aquinas, Jansenius, and others.)

According to Leonhard Hug

(Gutachten, 2, 208–222)

1. To Mary Magdalen.
2. To Peter (Luke xxiv. 34; 1 Cor. xv. 5).
3. To the disciples at Emmaus.
4. To the apostles (John xx. 19–23; Luke xxiv. 36–45; 1 Cor. xv. 5).
5. To 500 disciples (1 Cor. xv. 6).
6. To James (1 Cor. xv. 7).
7. To the apostles (John xx. 24–30).
8. At the Lake of Tiberias (John xxi. 1–24).
9. On the mountain of Galilee (Matthew xxviii. 16, etc.; Mark xvi. 15, etc.).

According to Rudolf Cornely

(Introductio, 3, 301, 302)

1. To Mary Magdalen at the sepulchre.
2. To the other women on the road.
3. To the disciples at Emmaus.
4. To Peter.
5. To the apostles, Thomas being absent.
6. To the apostles, Thomas being present.
7. To the apostles on a mountain in Galilee.
8. To a few disciples near the Lake of Tiberias.
9. To the apostles in Jerusalem (Mark xvi. 14–18; Luke xxiv. 44–49).

II. The Women's Visit to the Sepulchre

Matthew xxviii. 1–2

1. And in the end of the sabbath when it began to dawn towards the first day of the week, came Mary Magdalen and the other Mary, to see the sepulchre.
2. And behold there was a great

Mark xvi. 1–2

1. And when the sabbath was past, Mary Magdalen and Mary the mother of James, and Salome brought sweet spices, that coming, they might anoint Jesus.
2. And very early in the morning

MATTHEW xxviii. 3–4

earthquake. For an angel of the Lord descended from heaven, and coming, rolled back the stone, and sat upon it:

3. And his countenance was as lightning and his raiment as snow.

4. And for fear of him, the guards were struck with terror, and became as dead men.

MARK xvi. 3–4

the first day of the week, they come to the sepulchre, the sun being now risen.

3. And they said one to another: Who shall roll us back the stone from the door of the sepulchre?

4. And looking they saw the stone rolled back. For it was very great.

LUKE xxiv. 1, 2

1. And on the first day of the week very early in the morning they came to the sepulchre, bringing the spices which they had prepared.

2. And they found the stone rolled back from the sepulchre.

JOHN xx. 1, 2

1. And on the first day of the week, Mary Magdalen cometh early, when it was yet dark, unto the sepulchre and she saw the stone taken away from the sepulchre.

2. She ran, therefore, and cometh to Simon Peter, and to the other disciple whom Jesus loved, and saith to them: They have taken away the Lord out of the sepulchre, and we know not where they have laid him.

St. Mark's account of the resurrection begins at a point anterior to that of the other evangelists, for he speaks, not only of what took place on Easter Sunday, but of the preparations made by the women on the evening before. As we have already seen, our Lord's body was probably not anointed before burial. As the Sabbath was close at hand, everything had to be done hurriedly, and the spices were simply sprinkled between the body and the winding sheet, the latter being steeped in costly perfumes. Impelled by love and gratitude the women resolved to complete the honorable task that lack of time caused them now to leave unfinished. According to St. Luke's account[1] they began to prepare spices as soon as they had returned home on the evening of the crucifixion, and then rested on the Sabbath. St. Mark tells us that, as soon as the Sabbath was over, i.e., after sunset on Holy Saturday, Mary Magdalen, Mary the wife of Alphaeus and mother of James, and Salome, purchased more spices to supplement what they had already provided, with a view to anointing the Body on the next morning. Among the Jews it was quite usual to transact business as soon as the sun had set on the Sabbath, and so the women would have no diffi-

[1] xxiii. 56.

culty in buying the spices in readiness for the morrow. When morning dawned, they set out for the sepulchre, their hearts being filled wth love and gratitude. Among the little band were Mary Magdalen, the other Mary, i.e., Mary, sister to our Lord's mother, wife of Cleophas or Alphaeus, and mother of James the Less and Joseph, Salome, wife of Zebedee, and mother of James the Great and of John, and, finally according to St. Luke, Joanna, wife of Chusa, steward to Herod Antipas, and other women whose names are not mentioned. Of them all, Mary Magdalen occupied the most prominent position, and for this reason her name stands first in the list given by the synoptic writers, and she was the only woman to whom St. John alludes. All the evangelists say that the women came early; they set out at day-break, before sunrise.

Some commentators think that St. Mark assigns a rather later hour for their visit to the sepulchre than St. Luke and St. John. Those who take this view assume either that the women came twice, or that St. Mark is somewhat inaccurate. A close examination of the three texts shows, however, that the statements can easily be reconciled. Some writers think that St. Matthew represents the women as visiting the tomb on the Saturday.

The women who hastened to the sepulchre had looked on when Jesus was laid there on the previous Friday,[1] and had observed how the entrance was blocked with a great stone. They asked one another anxiously who would remove the stone for them, and the fact that this was the topic of their conversation as they approached the tomb, shows them to have been unaware that the Jews had sealed the sepulchre and that it was guarded by Roman soldiers. Their ignorance is quite explicable, for St. Luke tells us explicitly that they rested on the Sabbath,[2] and therefore it cannot be used as an argument against the historical accuracy of the statement that the tomb was guarded.

No sooner did they come near the sepulchre, than they saw the great stone rolled aside and lying near the entrance. The accounts given by the evangelists show plainly that the women noticed the stone first, not the open cavity. Hence St. Mark's account on the size of the stone stands at precisely the right place, although it is undeniable that their knowledge of its weight caused the women to wonder anxiously who would roll

[1] Compare Luke xxiii. 55.

[2] xxiii. 56.

it aside for them. St. Luke says briefly that the women came to the sepulchre and found the stone rolled back.

Did Mary Magdalen go forward with the other women, after seeing that the stone was rolled back, or did she leave them and return at once to the city to carry the news to the apostles Peter and John? This question is important in its harmonistic bearing, and especially with reference to establishing the sequence of events on Easterday. St. John supplies the key to its solution. After saying, like the other evangelists, that Mary Magdalen saw the stone taken away from the sepulchre, he uses the particle *therefore*, which shows that her running to tell the apostles was the immediate result of her seeing the stone. Another consideration lends further support to his view. As the women entered the sepulchre, they saw an angel, who told them that Jesus had risen from the dead. Now Mary Magdalen only told the apostles that some one had taken away their Lord's body, and on her return to the tomb, when the angel asked her why she was weeping, she said, "They have taken away my Lord and I know not where they have laid him." She gave a similar reply to our Lord Himself, when He met her, and asked the cause of her sorrow. It would have been impossible for her to speak thus if she had seen the angels and heard their message, even though she did not yet believe in the resurrection, and was still wavering between hope and fear. If she had seen the angels, surely she would have spoken of them to the apostles. We may therefore conclude that she had hurried back to the city as soon as she saw that the stone was rolled back from the entrance of the tomb.

The wonderful events at the sepulchre immediately after our Lord's resurrection and before the women's arrival. St. Matthew alone records these events. No mortal eye beheld the actual resurrection of Christ, the Lord of life and death, but there is unquestionable testimony to the fact of its occurrence. St. Mark says in general terms that Jesus rose early the first day of the week. As the women visited the sepulchre very early in the morning and found it empty, we must follow the Fathers and almost all commentators in believing that our Lord went forth triumphant from the grave at the first sign of dawn. Some think, with far less probability, that He arose at midnight. The former opinion finds expression in the hymn *aurora lucis rutilat, cum rex ille fortissimus victor surgit de funere.*[1]

Our Lord's triumph over death was made known to the guards by a sign from heaven. An angel announced to Mary that she should be the mother of the Messiah, an angel proclaimed to the shepherds the birth of the Saviour of the world, and, in the same way a messenger from heaven first gave testimony

[1] Compare Baronius, Ann. ad a. 34, n. 173–177; Sylveira, ix. 1, 2.

of the fact that the Lord had risen. An angel of the Lord, so states St. Matthew, descended from heaven, and his coming was accompanied by a great earthquake. This served to attract the attention of the guards to what had taken place, and to make them recognize the angel as a messenger from heaven. The evangelist makes it quite clear that the stone was rolled back by the angel and not removed by the earthquake. The object of the stone's removal was to convince, first the soldiers and then the women, that the tomb was empty and that Jesus had risen again. It was not rolled back on His account, for the Fathers are unanimous in thinking that He went forth while the sepulchre was still closed and sealed, just as, at His birth, Mary's womb was not opened, and as, not long afterwards, He appeared to the disciples when the doors were shut. The earthquake probably affected only the immediate neighborhood of the sepulchre, for there is nothing to suggest that the women were aware of it. The soldiers' alarm was increased by the appearance of the angel, whose face was bright as lightning, and his garment white as snow. These things showed him to be a messenger from heaven, and reflected the glory of our risen Saviour,[1] and the guards felt such intense fear that they "became as dead men," and took to flight, so that the women on reaching the tomb found no soldiers there.

III. The Angel and the Women

Matthew xxviii. 5–7

5. And the angel answering, said to the women: Fear not you: for I know that you seek Jesus who was crucified.

6. He is not here, for he is risen, as he said. Come, and see the place where the Lord was laid.

7. And going quickly, tell ye his disciples that he is risen: and behold he will go before you into Galilee; there you shall see him. Lo, I have foretold it to you.

Mark xvi. 5–7

5. And entering into the sepulchre, they saw a young man sitting on the right side, clothed with a white robe: and they were astonished.

6. Who saith to them: Be not affrighted; you seek Jesus of Nazareth, who was crucified: he is risen, he is not here, behold the place where they laid him.

7. But go, tell his disciples and Peter that he goeth before you into Galilee; there you shall see him, as he told you.

[1] Jansenius: *utrumque serviebat ad illustrandum in tenebris sepulchri omnia et ad testandam simul angeli et resurrectionis gloriam.*

LUKE xxiv. 3–8

3. And going in, they found not the body of the Lord Jesus.
4. And it came to pass, as they were astonished in their mind at this, behold two men stood by them in shining apparel.
5. And as they were afraid, and bowed down their countenance towards the ground, they said unto them: Why seek you the living with the dead?
6. He is not here, but is risen. Remember how he spoke unto you, when he was yet in Galilee,
7. Saying: The son of man must be delivered into the hands of sinful men, and be crucified, and the third day rise again.
8. And they remembered his words.

The women who went out early on Easter Sunday to visit the sepulchre were deemed worthy to be the first to receive the glad tidings of the resurrection, and were at the same time commissioned to bear the news to the apostles. Mary Magdalen had hastened back to the city as soon as she perceived from a distance that the stone blocking the entrance to the tomb was rolled back, consequently those who actually reached the sepulchre were Mary the wife of Alphaeus, Salome, Joanna the wife of Chusa, the King's steward, and some others whose names are unknown.

The state of the tomb when the women arrived. The stone was lying beside the entrance, and the guards stationed there by the Jews had fled, but in their place an angel was watching the empty sepulchre, ready to testify to the fact of our Lord's resurrection and to convey the tidings to the apostles.

When an angel is sent to convey some special message to men, he generally appears in the form of a youth. This was the case at the holy sepulchre, and it accounts for the fact that St. Matthew speaks of an angel, while St. Mark calls him a young man. According to these two evangelists the women beheld only one angel, but St. Luke says that there were two. It is probable that only one spoke, and therefore he alone is mentioned by St. Matthew and St. Mark. Some commentators suggest, with less probability, that St. Luke mentions two angels because he confuses the vision seen by the women with that seen subsequently by Mary Magdalen, when two angels were present.

The glistening garments worn by the angels in human form were a type of the joyful news that they brought to the women. According to St. Mark and St. Luke the latter had entered the sepulchre before they perceived the angel; St. Luke tells us that they did not see anyone until they had found the tomb empty, and were at a loss how to account for the absence of our Lord's body. The following seems to be the sequence of events: The angel, who had been seated on the stone that he had rolled back, entered the actual sepulchre before the women arrived. When they came up, they went into the antechamber, whence they could look into the inner part of the sep-

ulchre, and while they were wondering what had become of their Lord's body the angel appeared to them. St. Matthew tells us that he invited them to come and see the place where the Lord was laid, and these words show plainly that, when the other evangelists speak of the women as entering the sepulchre, we must understand the outer and not the inner chamber. St. Augustine[1] takes another view of the matter. He thinks that the women saw the angel in the antechamber and not in the actual tomb. It is natural for weak and sinful human beings to feel alarm at any heavenly apparition; we find instances of this fear in both the Old and New Testaments, and it is not surprising that the women were terrified on suddenly beholding an angel in the form of a youth clothed in glistening garments. They were already disposed to feel afraid, since, as we can see from Mary Magdalen's words and from the angel's mode of accosting them, they believed that our Lord's body had been stolen.

The angel's message. While the women stood amazed and speechless, the angel proceeded to give them the glad tidings of their Lord's resurrection and to communicate to them His instructions. First of all, however, it was necessary to calm their fear, so that they might be able to grasp the full significance of the news that they were about to hear, and consequently the angel began by saying, "Fear not you." The pronoun stands at the end of the sentence both in the Greek and in the Latin text, and is emphatic on account of its position. For the women, who believed in Christ, His resurrection was no reason for alarm; but it was otherwise with the Jews, who refused to believe and had nailed Him to the cross. The Messiah had risen again to gather the faithful around Him, as He had foretold, and to call the Jews to answer for their sins. The angel went on to state the fact of the resurrection: "He is not here, for He is risen." The women were invited to convince themselves of this truth by surveying the place where the body had been laid. They were reminded that their beloved Master had foretold that He would rise again, and this was an additional reason for believing the angel's message. St. Luke records how the angel recalled the fact that, while they were still in Galilee, Jesus had spoken of His Passion and Death, and of the glorious Resurrection that would follow. According to St. Paul's testimony the resurrection of Christ is of fundamental importance in the work of redemption, because it confirms most unmistakably the truth of our Redeemer's teaching and places His divinity beyond all question. This being so, it was essential that the testimony to

[1] De cons. evang. 5, 24. He is followed by Jansenius.

the actual occurrence of the resurrection should be most firmly established.

The angel went on to charge the women to carry the news of Christ's resurrection to the apostles, and to convey His message to them. They were to go quickly, that the disciples might be released from their overwhelming sorrow, and the news was to be carried to the disciples *and Peter*. There can be no doubt that this expression assigns to St. Peter a unique position among the followers of Christ. He would, of course, be included among the disciples, and commentators are divided as to the reason why he is singled out for special mention. It behooved Peter to have a very exceptional comprehension of the chief fact in Christianity, our Lord's resurrection from the dead, because he was the chief of the apostles; *or*, because he had thrice denied his Master, he needed assurance that he had not thereby ceased to belong to the apostolic band; *or*, because he had denied Christ through the agency of a woman, he was to be called to faith in Christ's resurrection through the agency of women. The first interpretation seems the best.[1]

The women who came to visit the sepulchre were the first messengers of the gospel, and we find other women missionaries mentioned in St. Paul's epistles.

In his commentary on St. Matthew's gospel, St. Bede writes about this fact: *Felices feminae, quae angelico doctae oraculo triumphum resurrectionis mundo annuntiare meruerunt ac mortis imperium, quam Eva serpentino seducta afflatu induxit, praedicate dirutum.* In the commission to carry the news to the apostles a command[2] was given to the women to tell the apostles to go to Galilee, whither their risen Master would precede them, as He had foretold, and where they should see Him again. The same order was given to the disciples by our Lord Himself, not long after.[3]

Before their departure for Galilee the disciples saw our Lord on several occasions, and so we may very reasonably ask why, immediately after the resurrection, they received orders, both directly and also through the women, to go to Galilee and meet Him there. The primary reason was that

[1] The views of early commentators are given by Sylveira, ix. 1, 17; those of later scholars by Schegg and Schanz.

[2] In Matthew xxviii. 7 εἶπον is rendered in the Vulgate *praedixi*. This verb has here, as is usual in classical writers, the meaning of to order, to ordain, and conveys the idea of a positive command.

[3] Compare Matthew xxviii. 10.

before His Passion our Saviour had told His followers that He would precede them into Galilee, after He had risen from the dead.[1] St. Mark emphasizes this fact in his account of the angel's speech to the women,[2] and St. Matthew indicates it also in his description of Christ's appearance in Galilee.[3] There are, however, other reasons why the risen Messiah chose to meet His disciples in Galilee. It was there that He had begun His ministry, had spent most of His public life, had gathered about Him a great many disciples, had called the apostles, and had sent them out on their first apostolic mission. After His resurrection He associated with His followers longer and more intimately in Galilee than in Jerusalem, and there He conferred upon them the power to teach with authority, and appointed Simon Peter to be their head.

Some commentators assume that, according to St. Matthew's gospel, previous appearances of our Lord in Jerusalem cannot have taken place, because the disciples were ordered, just after the resurrection, to go to Galilee, and because St. Matthew mentions only one occasion on which Christ appeared to them, and this was in Galilee. There is no justification for such an opinion. From the whole style and composition of St. Matthew's gospel it is possible to see why he restricted himself to a description of only one occasion on which Christ appeared to His disciples, viz., in Galilee.

IV. Peter and John at the Sepulchre

John xx. 3–10

3. Peter therefore went out, and that other disciple, and they came to the sepulchre.

4. And they both ran together, and that other disciple did outrun Peter, and came first to the sepulchre.

5. And when he stooped down, he saw the linen cloths lying: but yet he went not in.

6. Then cometh Simon Peter, following him, and went into the sepulchre, and saw the linen cloths lying,

7. And the napkin that had been about his head, not lying with the linen cloths but apart, wrapt up into one place.

8. Then that other disciple also went in, who came first to the sepulchre: and he saw, and believed.

9. For as yet they knew not the scripture, that he must rise again from the dead.

10. The disciples therefore departed again to their home.

Luke xxiv. 12, 24

12. But Peter rising up, ran to the sepulchre, and stooping down, he saw the linen cloths laid by themselves, and went away wondering in himself at that which was to come to pass.

24. And some of our people went to the sepulchre, and found it so as the women had said, but him they found not.

[1] Compare Matthew xxvi. 32; Mark xiv. 28.
[2] Mark xiv. 7. [3] Matthew xxviii. 16.

Simon Peter had been appointed head of the apostolic band, and John occupied the position immediately next to him, for which reason his name occurs just after that of Peter in the list of apostles in Acts i. 13. Early on Easter Sunday both hastened to the sepulchre, as soon as Mary Magdalen told them that their Lord's body had been stolen. St. Luke twice mentions the fact of their coming to the sepulchre, and St. John gives a full and vivid account of their visit. He says that Peter and "that other disciple" went out and came to the sepulchre. The fourth evangelist usually refrains from speaking of himself by name, but his description is so vivid, and so plainly written by an eye-witness, that we may safely conclude him to have been "that other disciple." They both ran together, urged on by their ardent love of the Master whose loss they were still mourning, and eager to behold with their own eyes what had happened at the sepulchre.[1]

Early commentators are fond of pointing out that the eagerness on the part of the two apostles should teach us to devote our time conscientiously to the service of God. Both apostles ran, but John outstripped Peter and was the first to reach the sepulchre. Peter was an older man; John possessed greater agility, but not more intense love than Peter of his Master.[2]

On his arrival, John stooped down and looked into the sepulchre through the low entrance, for he wished to see in what condition it was. He saw the linen cloths in which our Lord's body had been wrapped for burial, but Simon Peter, not John, was the first who entered the sepulchre. Several reasons have been suggested for John's delay. Probably in his reverence for Peter, he wished him to take precedence, since he was not only older, but was the chief of the apostles.[3]

Some think that John was afraid to enter the sepulchre at once, whereas Peter did not hesitate, being bolder and quick to act. St. Gregory the Great assigns a mystical interpretation to the whole episode. He says that John represents the synagogue (i.e., the Jews), which first received God's commandments and heard the promises regarding Christ's resurrection, but did not

[1] St. Thomas remarks that their running was *signum ferventis devotionis.*

[2] Jansenius: *Petro tanquam aetate junior, corpore agilior ac robustior.*

[3] Lyranus: *propter Petri reverentiam, quem expectavit, quia erat senior ipso et inter apostolos principalior.*

go into the sepulchre, i.e., did not believe in the resurrection. Simon Peter on the other hand represents the Gentiles, who in faith obeyed the call, although they received it later.[1] St. Luke's statement that Peter stooped down and looked into the sepulchre can be reconciled with St. John's account. The fact of St. Peter's going into the tomb does not preclude his having first looked in, but St. John records only his going in, as the more important and significant of the two actions. On St. Luke's brief remark that Peter went away wondering in himself at that which had come to pass, much light is thrown by the fuller description given by St. John, who tells us with painstaking accuracy exactly what St. Peter saw in the tomb. The linen cloths in which the body had been wrapped lay apart from the napkin that had been about our Lord's head, and which was folded up and lying by itself. There was no sign of disorder. We shall see later on why the evangelist describes so minutely the position of the cloths. Then "that other disciple" also went into the sepulchre, and, as he solemnly declares, "saw and believed." As the verb "believed" stands without its object, various interpretations have been suggested. St. Augustine and many other commentators after him[2] think that John only now believed Mary Magdalen's report that the body of Jesus had been stolen. This theory is based upon the evangelist's subsequent statement that the apostles did not as yet understand the Scriptures, for this statement can only be interpreted as assigning a reason for their non-belief in the resurrection.[3] This line of argument has undoubtedly some weight, but most modern scholars follow St. John Chrysostom in thinking that John believed in our Lord's resurrection when he saw the state of the sepulchre. The following facts render the latter view more probable: (1) In the fourth gospel the word "believe" generally means to accept the truths of salvation; (2) there is a close grammatical connection between the verbs "saw" and "believed"; (3) no other theory accounts for the evangelist's

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[1] Hom. 22; so also St. Thomas Aquinas, who refers to Rom. ix. 30, 31.

[2] Theophyl., Lyran., Estius, Menoch., Jansenius; reference is frequently made to St. Thomas, who, however, does not express a decided opinion, but merely quotes the theories first of St. Augustine and then of St. John Chrysostom.

[3] Jansenius quotes St. August.: *nam ista ignorantia non causat fidem resurrectionis sed potius infidelitatem.*

care to describe so precisely the orderly state of the sepulchre. Thieves would most likely have taken the linen cloths with them, certainly they would not have had time to arrange them in order; (4) St. Luke's remark that Peter went away wondering at that which had come to pass bears out the second interpretation. If we accept it, St. John's statement concerning the failure of the apostles to understand the Scriptures must be regarded as an attempt to account for their requiring to be convinced by means of their senses before they fully believed in our Lord's resurrection. This circumstance, like many others, served to place the actual fact of the resurrection beyond all doubt. There we have the positive evidence of Holy Scripture against those rationalistic commentators who regard the resurrection of Christ as a fiction, due either to the lively imagination of credulous disciples or to an erroneous interpretation of passages in the Old Testament. After leaving the sepulchre, the two apostles returned to the city, to await the further course of events.

V. Christ Appears to Mary Magdalen

John xx. 11–15

11. But Mary stood at the sepulchre without, weeping. Now as she was weeping, she stooped down and looked into the sepulchre,

12. And she saw two angels in white, sitting, one at the head, and one at the feet, where the body of Jesus had been laid.

13. They say to her: Woman, why weepest thou? She saith to them: because they have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him.

14. When she had thus said, she turned herself back and saw Jesus standing; and she knew not that it was Jesus.

15. Jesus saith to her: Woman, why weepest thou? whom seekest thou? She thinking that it was the gardener, saith to him: Sir, if thou hast taken him hence, tell me where thou hast laid him, and I will take him away.

Mark xvi. 9–11

9. But he rising early the first day of the week, appeared first to Mary Magdalen, out of whom he had cast seven devils.

10. She went and told them that had been with him, who were mourning and weeping.

11. And they hearing that he was alive, and had been seen by her, did not believe.

JOHN XX. 16–18

16. JESUS saith to her: Mary. She turning saith to him: Rabboni (which is to say, Master).

17. JESUS saith to her: Do not touch me, for I am not yet ascended to my Father: but go to my brethren, and say to them: I ascend to my Father and to your Father, to my God and your God.

18. Mary Magdalen cometh, and telleth the disciples: I have seen the Lord, and these things he said to me.

General remarks. After carrying the news to the two apostles on the morning of Easter Sunday, Mary Magdalen followed Peter and John, as they ran to the sepulchre, and arrived there soon after them. We have seen in the preceding section that, when they had observed the state of the tomb, they returned to the city, but Mary lingered near the place where her Lord's body had lain, being detained by her love and gratitude toward Him.[1] St. Mark here alludes to the action which had called forth her intense devotion, and says explicitly that Jesus had cast out of her seven devils. St. Luke records this fact,[2] but says only that seven devils had gone forth from her; he does not state that they were expelled by our Lord. Mary Magdalen seems to have been literally possessed; she was not merely liable to diabolical suggestions in consequence of her evil life. Now, at the sepulchre, she was deemed worthy to see, first the angels and then our Lord Himself, and, according to St. Mark, He appeared first of all to her. Only two evangelists record this meeting, and St. Mark mentions it very briefly, but St. John describes what preceded it as well as the meeting itself. In the next section we shall discuss the harmonistic relation between this paragraph and St. Matthew's account of Christ's appearance to the women on their way back from the sepulchre.

The appearance of the angels. St. John tells us that Mary remained behind, after St. Peter and St. John had gone away, and that she stood outside the sepulchre, weeping. Her tears flowed fast, and were the expression of her sorrow at not finding her Master's body. She did not enter the place of burial,

[1] August.: *infirmiorem sexum fortior figebat affectus.*
[2] viii. 2, 3.

not because she shrank from it or because she feared to add to her grief, but she lingered outside in order to be better able to observe whatever happened inside or outside the sepulchre. Finally she stooped down so as to look into the tomb through the narrow opening, to make sure that her beloved Master was not there. She was richly rewarded, for she beheld within the sepulchre two angels in white garments sitting, one at the head and one at the feet, where the body of Jesus had been laid.[1] Peter and John had seen no angels in the sepulchre; for them it was enough to see the condition in which it was, but Mary Magdalen in her deep sorrow received comfort and instruction from heavenly messengers. The two angels were undoubtedly those who shortly before had appeared to the other women near the sepulchre; their white garments showed them to be sent by God to announce joyful tidings, and also symbolized the glory of our risen Lord.[2] St. John says that Mary saw the angels sitting, one at the head and one at the feet of the place where the body had lain. According to Toletus, by sitting where they did they meant to indicate that they were no longer guarding our Lord's body, but showing that their position typified the task assigned to the apostles, viz., to preach the whole Gospel of Christ, from beginning to end.[3]

The angels asked Mary why she was weeping. The question was intended to draw her attention to them, to express their sympathy with her grief, and to afford them an opportunity of proclaiming to her the glad tidings of Christ's resurrection. The very form of the question suggests that she had no real reason for mourning. At once she replied, "Because they have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid Him." This answer deserves notice on account both of its form and substance. Mary spoke without showing any sign of that fear which heavenly apparitions are wont to produce, and therefore some commentators think that she did not recognize the men in glistening garments as angels.[4] It is, however, more probable that she felt no fear because her desire to find her Master's body overpowered her to such an extent as to render

[1] Jansenius: *in praemium illius constantis desiderii.*
[2] St. Thomas: *per quod claritas resurrectionis et gloria resurgentis demonstratur.*
[3] St. Thomas quotes other mystical interpretations.
[4] St. Thomas: *non angelos, sed homines esse putat.*

her incapable of noticing even unusual occurrences. She took it for granted that others would share her feelings and anxiety and so her complaint seemed to her an adequate answer to the questions addressed to her by the angels. St. Thomas Aquinas remarks: *dicendum est, quod vis amoris hoc agere solet in amato, ut quod ipse semper cogitat, nullum alium credat ignorare.*

The apparition of Jesus. As Mary's longing, tearful glance into the sepulchre was rewarded by a vision of angels, so did now her intense devotion to our Lord induce Him to appear to her. No sooner had she answered the angels' question than she turned away and paid no further attention to them, for she caught sight of Jesus, although she failed to recognize Him. She turned away from the sepulchre because she was still thinking of her Master, and seeking Him in every direction. It is most unlikely that she turned away because she heard the steps of someone approaching or because something in the angels' behavior suggested that another person was at hand. She did not recognize Jesus at once, owing to a change in His bodily aspect. It is usual to describe her want of perception to her inward disposition and incredulity regarding His resurrection. We are inclined to attach very little importance to this latter argument, based upon Mary Magdalen's subjective attitude, because even our Lord's disciples failed to recognize Him immediately on the occasions of His subsequent appearances, although they were already convinced of the reality of His resurrection and had seen their risen Master.

Like the angels Jesus sought to attract Mary's attention by asking her: "Why weepest thou? Whom seekest thou?" As the sepulchre was situated in a large garden, she might easily suppose the unknown man to be a gardener, even though he did not wear the ordinary clothes of a laborer. In reply to the question whence did our Lord obtain the clothes that He was wearing, Luthardt[1] says briefly that it was from the same source as that whence the angels obtained their garments. To this supposed gardener Mary addressed the question with which her thoughts were exclusively occupied, "Sir, if thou hast taken Him hence, tell me where thou hast laid Him." Many commentators have discussed her use of the word "Sir."[2] St. Augus-

[1] Das Johannes Evangelium, 2, 502. [2] Compare Sylveira, lx. 2, 11.

tine[1] suggests that she wished to be respectful to a man of whom she was asking a favor. She called our Lord simply *Him,* not mentioning His name, because her thoughts were so completely centred upon Him, that she took it for granted that even the supposed gardener would know whom she was seeking.[2] It is unlikely that Mary omitted to mention our Lord's name to the stranger for the reason that he had overheard her conversation with the angels. Her concluding words, "I will take Him away," show the ardor of her love. She wanted to find the body of Jesus and restore it to its place in the sepulchre, and she spoke without considering whether she were strong enough to do so. Those who love Christ shrink from no difficulties, and St. Thomas remarks: *mirabilis mulieris audacia, quam mortui non terret aspectus; et cujus valetudo ad grave mortui funus tollendum plus intentat quam possit. Sed hoc est quod dicitur* (1 Cor. xiii. 7): *caritas omnia sperat.*

Mary Magdalen, who did not recognize Jesus when she saw Him, knew Him on hearing His voice. At the moment when she was turning back toward the sepulchre, He uttered the one word "Mary" in His well-known tone, and at once she recognized Him, and all doubt as to His resurrection vanished. At the moment when her ears caught the familiar sound, her heart was enlightened by divine grace.[3] With one word our Lord revealed Himself, and in one word (Rabboni, Master) did Mary express her unbounded joy at having found Him who was the object of her devotion and for whom she had longed. Full of gladness and emotion she fell on her knees and attempted to embrace His feet, but our Lord forbade her to touch Him. Many reasons have been suggested for this prohibition;[4] some that are quite contrary to Holy Scripture, and others that are in bad taste we may disregard, and consider those only which may possibly be correct. Our Lord certainly did not utter these words for His own sake, because He allowed the other women to fall down before Him, clasp His feet and adore Him,[5] and

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[1] Tact. 121 in Joann.

[2] Jansenius: *amoris vehementia existimabat, omnem hominem cogitare, quod ipsa cogitabat.*

[3] Jansenius: *solita voce et gratia cor ejus feriens.*

[4] Compare Sylveira ix. 2, 14, regarding earlier commentators, and Han Schegg, Schanz, and Luthardt on the views of modern scholars.

[5] Matthew xxviii. 9.

He actually invited the disciples to touch Him.[1] In discussing the question why our Saviour forbade Mary Magdalen to touch Him, we must consider: (1) the meaning of the expression that He employed; (2) His reason for speaking thus, and (3) the commission entrusted to her immediately afterwards. The Greek verb ἅπτεσθαι is not used of a momentary touch, but implies clinging to the object grasped. Mary seems, therefore, to have wished to detain Jesus and enjoy His company for some time, and this was what our Lord forbade, giving us His reason, "I am not yet ascended to my Father." His subsequent words throw light upon this statement: "Say to them [my brethren] I ascend to my Father." The present tense refers to something that will take place in the immediate future, not to anything actually present. We know that forty days elapsed between our Saviour's resurrection and His return to His Father. If we bear these points in mind, we can explain Christ's words thus: He refused to allow Mary Magdalen to detain Him then, because there would be time enough before His ascension for a conversation such as she desired, and at that moment, instead of lingering by His side, she was to go and take His message to the disciples. This seems to be the most obvious interpretation of our Lord's words, and it is described by Sylveira as *genuina et germana.*

The words may, however, have a deeper meaning, and indicate the unbroken intercourse in heaven between Christ and His followers. We shall see that this sense may be assigned to them if we compare the reason given by our Lord, "For I am not yet ascended to my Father," with other utterances. In His farewell discourse to the apostles, Jesus said that He must go away and prepare a place for them, and then come again and take them to Himself.[2] He went away at His ascension, He came back first when He sent the Holy Ghost to the disciples, and He takes His followers to Himself on their departure from this world. Thenceforth they are always in His presence, and delight in the constant contemplation of their glorified Lord. The spiritual communion between the faithful on earth and their Saviour reigning in heaven is a preliminary step toward perfect union with Christ. It is based upon close connection with

[1] Luke xxiv. 39; John xx. 27.

[2] John xiv. 2, 3.

Christ; and consists on His side in the mystical presence of His grace and in the sacramental presence when the glorified God-Man takes up His abode for a time in our hearts. On our side it consists in abiding in Christ, in holding fast to faith in Him, and in carrying out His teaching in our daily life. In this way we may distinguish two meanings in the words addressed to Mary Magdalen by our Lord after His resurrection. It is unimportant, as far as the accuracy of this interpretation is concerned, whether she understood the full significance of her Master's speech or not, for He had in view all the believers and not only the faithful servant to whom He spoke. The Church learns from historical events and is instructed by the Holy Ghost, who guides her into all truth, and so she is able to discover a deeper meaning in many of her Lord's utterances than those to whom they were actually directed could possibly perceive.

Mary Magdalen was told, "Go to my brethren," viz., the apostles. Many commentators follow St. John Chrysostom in thinking that our Lord called His followers brethren, in order to display His wonderful love of them, and to convince them that they were still His apostles, although they had taken flight and left Him. The term was therefore intended to encourage them. This explanation is no doubt correct, as far as it goes, but a further reason for our Lord's use of the word was that, the work of redemption being accomplished, those who believed in Jesus had now become His brethren, children of God, and heirs of the Kingdom of Heaven. The message sent by Mary to the apostles was, "I ascend to my Father and your Father, to my God and your God." The Resurrection from the dead was to be followed by the Ascension, and our Lord spoke of the latter — that henceforth His disciples might turn their thoughts to heaven. He also wished to tell them that ere long all those glorious promises would be fulfilled which He had connected with His Ascension, especially in His farewell discourse.[1] Christ called God "my Father and your Father" because He was the real Son and they had been adopted as the children of God. This difference in sonship causes a difference also in the relation between God the Father and Christ on the one hand,

[1] Compare John xiv. 2, 3; xvi. 7, 8.

and God the Father and the faithful on the other, hence our Lord added "my God and your God." In obedience to her Master's instructions, Mary Magdalen went to the apostles and told them that she had seen Jesus, and gave them His message. According to St. Mark she found them mourning and weeping, and unwilling at first to believe her words. We can see from the evangelists' accounts that some time elapsed before they thoroughly believed in Christ's resurrection.

VI. Christ Appears to the Women

Matthew xxviii. 8–10

8. And they went out quickly from the sepulchre with fear and great joy, running to tell his disciples.

9. And behold Jesus met them saying: All hail. But they came up, and took hold of his feet, and adored him.

10. Then Jesus said to them; Fear not. Go, tell my brethren that they go into Galilee, there they shall see me.

Mark xvi. 8

8. But they going out, fled from the sepulchre. For a trembling and fear had seized them: and they said nothing to any man; for they were afraid.

Luke xxiv. 9–11

9. And going back from the sepulchre, they told all these things to the eleven, and to all the rest.

10. And it was Mary Magdalen, and Joanna, and Mary of James, and the other women that were with them, who told these things to the apostles.

11. And these words seemed to them as idle tales; and they did not believe them.

This section is difficult from the harmonistic point of view, and many different opinions have been expressed regarding its contents. It deals with the women's return from the sepulchre, our Lord's appearance to them on their way, His message to the apostles and the other disciples, and their reception of the news brought by the women. From a comparison of St. Mark's and St. Luke's accounts we learn that the women who went back from the sepulchre together were Joanna, wife of Chusa, Herod's steward, Mary, mother of James the Less, and Salome, mother of James and John, the sons of Zebedee. St. Luke alludes to other women who accompanied these, but their names are unknown. The same evangelist seems to imply that Mary

Magdalen was one of the little band, but this point will be discussed later, when we deal with the harmonistic difficulties.

It is almost universally assumed that the three passages quoted at the head of this section relate to the same occurrence, viz., to the return of the women to the city after visiting the sepulchre early on Easter Sunday. It is very probable that St. Matthew connects with his account of their return on Easter Sunday morning a description of our Lord's appearing to the women on the occasion of a subsequent visit to the sepulchre. This harmonistic question will be considered later.

The women hastily left the tomb and hurried from the place. There was a twofold reason for their hurried departure, — the angel had bidden them convey with all speed the news of the Lord's resurrection and His message to the apostles, and their own state of mind impelled them to make haste, for they were filled with joy and fear at the same time. They feared because they had seen the angels and been entrusted with a message from heaven, since every one who receives particular favors from God becomes more fully aware of his own unworthiness and unimportance and is overwhelmed with anxiety and fear. They rejoiced because they had heard good news, and were commissioned to convey the same to the apostles. Their alarm was due solely to what they had witnessed at the sepulchre, not to any doubt regarding the truth of Christ's resurrection. We have in the case of the prophet Isaias a striking instance of the manner in which a godly man may be overpowered with fear on receiving from God a revelation even though it is accepted with unquestioning faith.[1]

St. Matthew describes an apparition of Jesus to the women on the occasion probably not of their first but of a later visit to the sepulchre. Our Lord greeted them with the words, "All hail." The Prince of Peace uttered the greeting of peace with reference to the work of redemption that He had just completed, that work whereby He had established peace between God and man, and peace, too, among men.[2] The majestic form of their glorified Master and His gentle greeting aroused feelings of joy and fear in the women's anxious hearts. They cast themselves down in front of Him, clasped His feet and adored Him. No

[1] Isa. vi. 6; compare Knabenbauer and others. [2] Ephes. ii. 14 *seqq.*

longer did they treat Him with their accustomed familiarity, but by their actions they gave expression to their devotion and reverence.

As their Master's majesty had filled them with alarm, He sought to soothe them, and said, "Fear not." Until they had recovered their composure, they were incapable of listening to His message, but when they were calm they received from Him the commission already given them by the angels; they were to tell the disciples to go to Galilee, where they should see their risen Lord. Why did Jesus repeat the message already given by the angels? and why did He call His disciples brethren? The importance of the message and of the promise connected with it is enough to account for its repetition. It would be hard for the disciples in Jerusalem to leave the place where such great events had occurred, and therefore it was expedient that their Lord's command and promise should be repeated and thus impressed upon their minds. They were addressed with the honorable title of brethren because their risen Master wished to display His love for them and His desire to lift them out of their state of discouragement, because He desired to indicate that His glorified body was a real body, identical with that in which He had known them before, and, lastly, because He aimed at giving expression to the truth that through His work of redemption they had been made children of God and brethren of Christ.[1]

According to St. Mark, the women told no one anything of what they had seen at the sepulchre and on their way back, but St. Matthew and St. Luke say that they carried the news to the apostles. St. Mark seems, however, to suggest a means of reconciling the two accounts. He alone says that trembling and fear had seized them, and in their physical and mental distress they may have been unable at first to speak to anyone, although subsequently they went to the apostles and told them what had occurred. A few commentators think that the evangelists are describing different events,[2] others assume that St. Mark's statement refers to the women's behavior on their way back from the sepulchre to the city; they were speechless with fear, so that they said nothing to any of the people whom they met.

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[1] Compare Mald. and Jansenius.

[2] For instance, Cornely, 3, 301.

The harmonistic difficulty turns upon the question: May we identify Christ's appearance to the women, described by St. Matthew, with His appearance to Mary Magdalen, recorded by St. John? Many Protestant commentators and a few modern Catholic scholars follow Maldonatus and think that the two accounts refer to one appearance. Maldonatus, however, confesses that he can quote no one except St. Athanasius in support of his opinion.[1]

There are, however, several good reasons for not identifying them. St. John's description reads as if our Lord appeared to Mary Magdalen when she was alone; and St. Mark also mentions no one else, and asserts that she was the first to see our Lord, although he enumerates the other women who visited the sepulchre. On the other hand, St. Matthew speaks quite definitely of several women who witnessed our Lord's appearance. Mary Magdalen saw Him in the garden, as she stood close to the tomb; the other women met Him on their way back to the city; the former was forbidden to touch Him, the latter "took hold of His feet." St. John not only fails to record the messages sent to the apostles, but his very detailed account seems to leave no place for the sending of any messages, whereas in the synoptic gospels they occupy a prominent position. It is not a satisfactory explanation of these differences to assume that St. Matthew gives only a brief summary of what St. John describes more fully, and therefore we must follow the great majority of commentators[2] and regard the two occasions as distinct.[3]

The following reasons lead us to believe that Christ appeared to the women on their return, not from their first but from a subsequent visit to the sepulchre;[4] their flight from the sepulchre was so precipitate as almost to preclude any interview with our Lord on the way; the words of the disciples at Emmaus (Luke xxiv. 22–24) show plainly that the women who visited the sepulchre early in the morning had not seen Jesus when they told the apostles what had occurred. St. Matthew therefore speaks of a later visit to the sepulchre, on the way back from which the women saw our Lord.[5] It seems quite natural that during the anxious hours early on Easter Sunday a second visit should have been paid to the tomb, especially as, when the women came for the first time, they were ordered to carry the news quickly to the city.

Thus the sequence of events during the morning and forenoon of Easter Sunday is as follows:

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[1] Compare Mald. on St. Matthew xxviii. 9.

[2] Jerome, Augustine, Thomas Aquinas, Lyr., Corn. à Lap., Calmet, Jansenius (junior), Knabenbauer, and others.

[3] Maldonatus has recourse to very forced explanations in order to remove the difficulties in the way of identifying the two appearances of our Lord. He thinks that the word *primo* in Mark xvi. 9 refers not to the women but to the apostles, or else that the word was inserted because Jesus addressed Mary Magdalen alone. According to St. Matthew, however, our Lord spoke to the other women also. Mald. alters (*stans ad monumentum*) *conversa est retrorsum* (John xx. 14) to *rediens a monumento*. In order to reconcile the scene in the garden near the sepulchre with that on the road to Jerusalem, he says: *Christum revertentibus quidem jam mulieribus sed nondum egressis aut egressis quidem sed quasi ad hortum euntem Christum apparuisse.*

[4] August. de cons. evang. 3, 69.

[5] So Corn. à Lap., Calmet, Jansenius (the younger), Laurent, Knabenbauer, and others.

1. At daybreak the women went to the sepulchre. Mary Magdalen, on seeing the stone rolled away from the entrance, turned back and hastened to tell Peter and John. The others went on to the sepulchre and there saw the angels.

2. On receiving the news from Mary Magdalen, Peter and John ran to the sepulchre.

3. Mary Magdalen followed them, and was the first to see our Lord near the sepulchre.

4. Jesus appeared to the other women on their return from a second visit to the sepulchre. It is impossible to decide with certainty whether or not Mary Magdalen accompanied them on this occasion.

VII. The Guards at the Sepulchre and the Chief Priests

MATTHEW xxviii. 11–15

11. Who when they were departed, behold some of the guards came into the city, and told the chief priests all things that had been done.

12. And they being assembled together with the ancients, taking counsel, gave a great sum of money to the soldiers,

13. Saying: Say you, His disciples came by night, and stole him away when we were asleep.

14. And if the governor shall hear of this, we will persuade him, and secure you.

15. So they taking the money, did as they were taught; and this word was spread abroad among the Jews even unto this day.

St. Matthew alone of the evangelists records both the setting of the watch on Holy Saturday and the compact between the chief priests and the soldiers on Easter Sunday. He saw in these occurrences unmistakable evidence of our Lord's Messianic character and divinity, as well as of the inexcusable obstinacy of the Jews.[1]

In the case of the representatives of Judaism were fulfilled the words ascribed to Abraham in the parable of Dives and Lazarus:[2] "If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they believe if one rise again from the dead."

The evangelist tells us that after the women had returned from the sepulchre to the city, some of the guards also came to report to the chief priests what had taken place. We do not

[1] Jansenius: *illustre fuit hoc testimonium veritatis et ab inimicis datum quod ut principibus erat irrefragabile ita pervicacia inexcusabilis.*

[2] Luke xvi. 31.

know at what hour the soldiers left the sepulchre. Most commentators assume that they fled as soon as they had recovered from their first terror, so that the women on their arrival found no one there. A few exponents,[1] however, think that the soldiers left the sepulchre at the same time as, or even later than, the women, having remained at their posts paralyzed with fear, or possibly having watched the course of events from a distance. The first theory is the most satisfactory, and we may believe that the soldiers brought the news of a great earthquake near the place of our Lord's burial, and of the mysterious removal of the heavy stone from the entrance of the tomb, which was then seen to be empty. The evangelist's remark that "some of the guards came into the city" must be understood as referring to the particular individuals who had been actually on duty. It is very improbable that some of the soldiers went to the city while others remained at their posts.

The chief priests, being greatly alarmed at this unexpected news, at once summoned an assembly of the ancients, to determine what could be done, and, as a result of their deliberation, they offered the soldiers a large sum of money on condition that they should falsely declare the body of Jesus to have been removed by His disciples, while they themselves were asleep. St. Matthew mentions the chief priests and ancients of the people as taking part in this discussion; in other places[2] he alludes to these two classes when speaking of the Sanhedrin, and we may assume that the whole council was convoked to deliberate concerning a matter so extraordinary and so important in its bearing upon Judaism.[3] The measures adopted again evinced the implacable hatred of Jesus, the unusual obstinacy and almost incomprehensible folly, on the part of the Sanhedrists. They were convinced of the truth of the soldiers concerning the wonderful things that had taken place at the sepulchre, for, had it been otherwise, they would have felt bound to request the Roman authorities to take action, but nevertheless they themselves would not believe, and so they did their utmost and employed the most shameful means to prevent the multitude from believing in Christ's resurrection. Many commentators compare the action of the Sanhedrists in the case of the soldiers

[1] e.g., Tirinus and Jansenius.
[2] Matthew ii. 4; xx. 18.
[3] Thus Mald., Lamy, and Jansenius.

with their procedure in the case of Judas; for thirty pieces of silver the Jews induced the latter to betray his Master, and by offering a sum of money they now sought again to defeat the mission of the Messiah. According to St. Jerome, the money used for this reprehensible purpose was taken from the Temple treasury.[1]

There is nothing surprising in an attempt to bribe Roman soldiers. Jugurtha, a most ambitious man, expected to succeed in carrying out his plans because everything in Rome could be bought for money,[2] and his experience caused him to utter the famous dictum, *O urbem venalem, si emtorem invenerit.* The corruption was even worse in the provinces. St. Augustine calls the statement which the soldiers were ordered to make, an *infelix astutia.*[3]

The fact that the clever Sanhedrists wished the guards to make so absurd and incredible a statement has made some people doubt the truth of the whole story. Rationalistic scholars think it absolutely impossible that the chief priests should have acted so unwisely, and do not scruple to pronounce the evangelist's account to be a mere legend. They argue thus: If we had lived at the time of Christ, we should have taken possession of His body as soon as it was removed from the cross, and so no deception would have been possible. Since the Sanhedrists failed to take this precautionary measure, everything that is said to have occurred afterwards in this connection is simply untrue. Yes, the Sanhedrists blundered not only by this omission, but also by having the sepulchre guarded by soldiers, and the result was that nothing short of an unmistakable lie could cause the apostles to be charged with stealing our Lord's body. The historical accuracy of St. Matthew's account cannot be doubted or even questioned, unless we deny God's power in working out His scheme of salvation, unless we shut our eyes to the fact that hatred makes men blind, and unless we consider the Sanhedrists incapable of taking a foolish step. History records many instances of great men who, at critical moments in their lives, have had recourse to very ill-advised measures.

The soldiers exposed themselves to great danger by complying with the wish of the Sanhedrists, since any lack of vigilance on the part of a sentry was severely punished. It is true that the men appointed to guard the sepulchre were, strictly speaking, not on military duty, because they were employed privately by the chief priests, to whom, and not to the military

[1] Comm. *ad loc.: pecuniam, quae ad usus templi data fuerat, vertunt in redemptionem mendacii, sicut antea triginta argenteos dederant Judae proditori.* Compare Tirinus.

[2] Sallust, Jugurtha, c. 8: *Romae omnia venalia esse.*

[3] In Ps. lxiii. 7: *si dormiebant, quid videre poterant? si nihil viderant, quomodo testes sunt.*

commander, they reported what had happened. It would, however, involve a serious breach of military discipline to act as the priests suggested, and the men knew that they had every reason to fear punishment should the matter reach the ears of the procurator, or be made the subject of judicial inquiry. The Sanhedrists tried to calm their fears by promising to soothe the procurator, and thus to secure the soldiers' safety. They might reasonably hope to achieve this by their intercession, because Pilate had plainly shown [1] that he wished to have nothing more to do with the matter.

The evangelist concludes his account of this episode with the remark that the soldiers' false statement regarding the theft of our Lord's body was still current among the Jews at the time when he wrote his gospel.

VIII. The Disciples on the Way to Emmaus

Luke xxiv. 13–26

13. And behold, two of them went the same day to a town which was sixty furlongs from Jerusalem named Emmaus.

14. And they talked together of all these things which had happened.

15. And it came to pass, that, while they talked and reasoned with themselves, Jesus himself also drawing near went with them.

16. But their eyes were held, that they should not know him.

17. And he said to them: What are these discourses that you hold one with another as you walk, and are sad?

18. And the one of them, whose name was Cleophas, answering, said to him: Art thou only a stranger in Jerusalem, and hast not known the things that have been done there in these days?

19. To whom he said: What things? And they said: Concerning Jesus of Nazareth who was a prophet mighty in work and word before God and all the people.

20. And how our chief priests and princes delivered him to be condemned to death, and crucified him.

21. But we hoped that it was he that should have redeemed Israel: and now besides all this, today is the third day since these things were done.

22. Yea, and certain women also of our company affrighted us, who before it was light, were at the sepulchre,

23. And not finding his body came, saying, that they had also seen a vision of angels, who say that he is alive.

24. And some of our people went to the sepulchre, and found it so as the women had said, but him they found not.

25. Then he said to them: O foolish, and slow of heart to believe in all things which the prophets have spoken.

26. Ought not Christ to have suffered these things, and so to enter into his glory?

[1] Matthew xxvii. 65.

LUKE xxiv. 27–35

27. And beginning at Moses and all the prophets, he expounded to them in all the scriptures the things that were concerning him.

28. And they drew nigh to the town whither they were going: and he made as though he would go farther.

29. But they constrained him saying: Stay with us, because it is towards evening, and the day is now far spent. And he went in with them.

30. And it came to pass, whilst he was at table with them, he took bread, and blessed and brake, and gave to them.

31. And their eyes were opened and they knew him: and he vanished out of their sight.

32. And they said one to the other: Was not our heart burning within us, whilst he spoke in the way, and opened to us the scriptures?

33. And rising up the same hour, they went back to Jerusalem: and they found the eleven gathered together, and those that were with them,

34. Saying: The Lord is risen indeed, and hath appeared to Simon.

35. And they told what things were done in the way, and how they knew him in the breaking of bread.

MARK xvi. 12, 13

12. And after that he appeared in another shape to two of them walking, as they were going into the country.

13. And they going told it to the rest: neither did they believe them.

St. Mark merely records the fact that our Lord appeared to two disciples as they were going into the country; St. Luke, on the other hand, gives a very full and detailed account of this episode, which occurred late in the afternoon of Easter Sunday, on the way between Jerusalem and Emmaus, and at Emmaus itself.

We are told that two of the disciples of those assembled in Jerusalem set out to walk to Emmaus. They were not apostles, for the evangelist says that on their return to the city they found the eleven gathered together. St. Jerome assumes that in all probability they belonged to the band of seventy disciples. One of them was named Cleophas (Greek, Cleopas), and from St. Luke's words, "He [Jesus] went in with them" (v. 29), we may perhaps infer, as St. Jerome does,[1] that at least Cleophas was an inhabitant of Emmaus and possessed a house in the village. This Cleophas must not be identified with Cleophas, Clopas, or Alphaeus, husband of the other Mary, and father of James. In the Greek the names are not identical, one being

[1] Loc. Hebr.; Epist. 27; Epith. Paulae ad Eustoch.

genuinely Greek, the other only a Greek form of a Hebrew name. A desire to identify the two men has caused the writers of some Greek MSS. to adopt another spelling. There are various conjectures regarding the companion of Cleophas;[1] Origen calls him Simon; St. Ambrose gives his name as Amaon (Ammaon); in some of the Itala MSS. we find Ammaus; some commentators think that St. Luke is speaking of himself, some suggest that the second wayfarer may have been Simon Peter.

Geographical question. The position of Emmaus, like that of many other places mentioned in the Bible, is uncertain. Three different opinions exist regarding it, and there are three chief points which we must take into account when we attempt to determine its site. The village called Emmaus in the New Testament was sixty furlongs (about three hours' walk) from Jerusalem; it was a fairly large place (*κώμη, castellum*), and the disciples went there and back in the course of Easter Sunday. According to a tradition dating from the time of the Crusades, and still generally accepted, Emmaus may be identified with the present Kubeibeh, an insignificant settlement lying northwest of Jerusalem on the caravan route to Jaffa; it now contains barely a hundred inhabitants, almost all of them Mahommedans. Quite recently the remains of a large church have been discovered there. The theory that the Emmaus mentioned by St. Luke is identical with Kubeibeh gains support from the fact that careful measurements show the latter place to be exactly sixty furlongs from Jerusalem.[2] Several later commentators and a few modern scholars follow Eusebius and St. Jerome,[3] in identifying the New Testament Emmaus with a place of the same name mentioned in the first book of Machabees, which was situated in the plain of Judea, and from the third century onwards was known as Nicopolis, although it is now called Amwas. Although besides the antiquity of the tradition there are other considerations supporting this theory, we cannot accept it, because Amwas is more than 160 furlongs, or, according to the Pilgrim from Bordeaux, 176 furlongs from Jerusalem. The difference between 60 and 176 is so great that we cannot believe St. Luke to have meant such a distance by saying 60 furlongs. Moreover, Nicopolis (Amwas) was then not a village but a considerable town, and under the Roman government it was the capital of a toparchy. Sepp and others try to identify Emmaus with a village called Colonia, halfway between Kubeibeh and Jerusalem, and with another place that Josephus (B. J. vii. 6, 6) calls Emmaus, which according to the ordinary reading was 60, but according to a variant reading, 30 furlongs from Jerusalem. The present name of the place had its origin in the fact that Titus founded there a colony of eight hundred veterans.

As they walked, the two disciples discussed the events that had recently taken place in Jerusalem, and revealed to each other

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[1] Compare Tisch., *ad loc.*
[2] Kirchenlexikon, 4, 446 *seqq.*
[3] De locis Hebr.; compare Baron., Ann. ad a. 34, n. 193, 194; compare also Knabenbauer.

their opinions, hopes, and fears in the course of a conversation carried on with great vivacity, for both were devoted followers of their Master. Their devotion and sympathy were soon rewarded, and they experienced the fulfillment of the consoling promise: "Where there are two or three gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.[1]

Under the form of a wayfarer, walking quickly, Jesus caught up to them and joined them, without being recognized. St. Mark ascribes their failure to recognize Him to the fact that he appeared "in another shape," but St. Luke says that their eyes were held, so that they should not know Him.

We seem to have two distinct reasons given for their lack of perception. Many commentators think that when St. Mark speaks of another shape he does not mean an alteration in the bodily form or in the countenance of our Lord, but only that by His manner and dress He gave the impression of being a stranger, who had come to Jerusalem for the festival. It is enough to state here one of the various arguments against this theory: the Greek word used by the evangelist refers directly to the form and outward appearance of the human body, not to dress or behavior. Others think that a change had really taken place in our Lord's appearance, but they ascribe it to the disfigurement produced by the suffering that He had undergone. They assume that His face was so wasted and colorless as to be unrecognizable.

This theory is in direct antagonism to the fact that Jesus had risen with a glorified body. Unscriptural, too, is the hypothesis that the process of glorification began at the Resurrection, but was not complete until the Ascension, for that a body should rise in glory is not the result of a natural process, but the work of God's omnipotence, and it is accomplished in a moment and not gradually. From the foregoing remarks we can see that the words "in another shape" refer to our Lord's glorified body as distinguished from His previously not glorified body. He appeared to the disciples *in alia effigie*, i.e., *in forma illustriori et splendidiori quam ante mortem*.[2] We do not know to what extent our Saviour allowed His disciples to behold the radiance of His glorified body before His ascension, nor are we told how far He exerted His divine power to diminish its splendor.

Christ's glorified body being identical with His body before the passion, the disciples might have recognized Him, had they looked closely at Him, but God willed it otherwise. Here we have the reason alleged by St. Luke for their want of perception, — "their eyes were held, that they should not see Him." According to many commentators the failure was due to their mental disposition: either to their inconsolable sorrow at their Lord's death, or to unbelief in His resurrection. The wording of the Biblical account does not, however, bear out this interpretation, but points decidedly to the action of

[1] Matthew xviii. 20. Bede remarks: *loquentes autem de se Dominus appropinquans comitatur, ut et fidem resurrectiones mentibus eorum incendat, et quod facturum se promiserat* (Matthew xviii. 20) *impleat.*

[2] De la Haye, tom. 23, 458.

some divine influence upon the disciples.[1] In fact, with regard to the manner in which the influence was exerted, a few think that the perceptive faculty of the disciples was obscured; the majority, however, believe that their sense of sight was affected.[2]

Christ's conversation with them explains why He wished them not to recognize Him at once; He desired them to open their hearts to Him without reserve, in order that He might instruct them, and enable them to understand more fully what His Messianic work really was, so that, when He revealed Himself to them, their joy might be the more intense.

The conversation between Christ and the two disciples. According to the reading of the Vulgate, our Saviour began the conversation by asking them two questions, viz., what they were discussing and why they were sad. The Greek reading, however, is better supported, and according to it our Lord only asked them what was the subject of their discourse, and thereupon they halted and were troubled. One of them, Cleophas by name, replied by asking another question, expressing his surprise that of all the people in Jerusalem the stranger alone seemed to know nothing of the events of the last few days. Jesus asked for information, and thus gave the men an opportunity of confiding to Him what they believed about Him, what they thought of the significance of His work, and all their hopes and fears. They declared Jesus of Nazareth to be a prophet mighty in work and word, thus testifying to all mankind that He was sent by God. Further, they stated that He was recognized both by God the Father and by the Jews as "mighty." The gospels afford abundant evidence of the truth of this assertion. When Christ was transfigured on Mount Thabor a voice was heard from heaven saying, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased: hear ye him."[3] Thus all His actions were declared to be in conformity with the will of God, and His doctrine was pronounced the new law for mankind. Immediately before the close of our Lord's public ministry a voice came from heaven saying, "I have both glorified it, and will glorify it again" (viz., the name of God).[4] By this utterance God solemnly bore testimony to the fact that all the works of Jesus had hitherto tended to glorify His name, and that His passion, which was about to

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[1] Lamy: *impediebantur vi divina.*

[2] According to Jansenius such an impedimentum was *sive offusa oculis caligo, sive humor, sive aer interjectus.*

[3] Matthew xvii. 5.

[4] John xii. 28.

follow, would glorify it yet further. The teaching and miracles of Jesus had forced the Jews to acknowledge Him as sent by God. At the close of the Sermon on the Mount the people were astonished that He taught as one having power;[1] they were amazed at His miracles and inclined to believe in Him as the Messiah,[2] and even the Pharisees and the Sanhedrin could not deny that He possessed miraculous powers.[3] Although Jesus proved by word and deed that He was the Messiah, the Jews did not believe in Him, and His miracles were, according to Caiphas,[4] the reason why they persecuted and crucified Him. The disciples on their way to Emmaus alluded very briefly to our Lord's passion, merely saying that the Sanhedrin had handed Him over to Pilate to be condemned, and had crucified Him. It was strictly accurate to speak of the Sanhedrists as having crucified Christ, for they had condemned Him to death, sent Him to Pilate, demanded His crucifixion and incited also the rabble to demand it (*auctorem actionis pro ipso actore ponunt,* Lamy). The disciples went on to open their hearts to the Companion and spoke of the hopes they had entertained and of the disappointment they felt. They said that they, unlike the Sanhedrists, had believed Jesus to be the redeemer of the chosen people, and destined to fulfill the Messianic prophecies. They mentioned the expected Messiah, not by name but by reference to His characteristics;[5] the redemption, however, which they trusted He would have accomplished, was probably political, not religious or ethical. They looked forward to a release from Roman supremacy, and to the restoration of their former independence and of the ancient splendor of Judaism. Their use of the past tense "we hoped" has led St. Augustine[6] and many others to think that hope had now given place to despair, but probably the past tense only means that their hope was diminishing.[7] Two things tended to make them despondent: Jesus, whom they had regarded as the Messiah, had died, and three days had elapsed since His death without their having heard any definite news of Him. They were intensely devoted to their Master, and so they spoke of two occurrences which seemed to

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[1] Matthew vii. 28, 29.
[2] Matthew xii. 23.
[3] Matthew xii. 24 *seqq.*
[4] Compare John xi. 47 *seqq.*
[5] Compare Sylveira, ix. 3, 11.
[6] Sermo 140, de tempore.
[7] Lamy: *indicant, jam aliquo modo animos despondere.*

afford them some ground for hope: the women, who visited the sepulchre early in the morning, had found it empty, and had seen a vision of angels, and learned that Jesus had risen again and was alive. Moreover, Peter and John had also found the tomb empty. The two disciples were still unaware that Jesus had appeared to Mary Magdalen and to the other women.

They revealed their inmost thoughts, hopes, and fears to Jesus, who then proceeded to explain to them the true meaning of the Messianic revelation. He gently rebuked them, calling them foolish and slow of heart to believe in all things which the prophets had spoken. These words show why the disciples were wavering between hope and fear, and indicated that their behavior was incompatible with a real belief in the Messianic prophecies. They misunderstood the promises given through the prophets, and consequently they had a mistaken idea of the Messiah and His work. Their lack of comprehension was due to their emotions, aims, and wishes. They desired and expected the Messiah to be a great conqueror, who would secure the political independence and temporal prosperity of the Jews. The consequence was that the Jews fixed their attention exclusively upon the prophecies alluding to the glory of the promised Messiah, and even the best among them only accepted gradually and sorrowfully the Messianic descriptions which did not agree with their preconceived ideas. We have no right to blame the two disciples for their inability at his hour of trial to lay aside the erroneous opinions held by the entire nation. Even the apostles, immediately before our Lord's ascension, still held no clear comprehension of the Messianic kingdom.[1] The essential difference between the disciples and the Jews was that the former were willing to be taught and slowly arrived at the truth, while the latter obstinately hardened their hearts against Christ and persisted in their errors.

Our Saviour, who reads all hearts, saw that the two disciples were willing to believe, and proceeded to instruct them. He pointed out to them that, according to God's scheme of salvation, the Messiah promised to the Jews must necessarily pass through suffering before He could enter into His glory. The evangelist simply states the fact that Jesus referred to the Old Testament;

[1] Compare Acts i. 6.

we do not know which of the writers and passages He quoted, nor how He expounded them. In the same way did St. Paul, speaking in the synagogue at Thessalonica, prove from the Scriptures that Jesus the Messiah must necessarily have suffered, died, and risen from the dead.[1] We see what effect this instruction had upon the two disciples, for afterwards they said to each other, "Was not our heart burning within us whilst He spoke on the way, and opened to us the Scriptures?" His words made a profound impression upon them, and His elucidation of the Old Testament filled them with great joy, increased their confidence, and confirmed their faith in Him as the Messiah. They were astonished at their own blindness in not recognizing Jesus at once when He addressed them in language that altered their whole state of mind.[2]

Christ's forerunner, who derived his light from the Light of the World, was called by our Lord a burning and a shining light,[3] and was able to show the Jews the way of salvation; how much more, therefore, may we apply to Christ Himself the Psalmist's exclamation, "The words of the Lord are fire-tried,"[4] a fire able to inflame the hearts of men with love of everything that is beautiful and true?

The change in the disciples' minds manifested itself in their behavior after they reached Emmaus. St. Luke says that Jesus made as though He would go farther. It is not difficult to explain this statement. Although our Lord, being omniscient, knew that He would remain at Emmaus, for the sake of the two disciples he acted like a traveller who intended to walk on (*fortasse progressus passus aliquot*). He desired to stop at Emmaus, but only on condition that He was urged to do so, and He would have gone farther had He not been invited to stay. In order to give the disciples an opportunity of inviting Him, He behaved as though He intended to go on His way. We may therefore conclude that Jesus knew, while still on the road to Emmaus, that He would stop there; He knew at the same time that He would stop because the disciples would stand the test which He had designed for them. Therefore when on their

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[1] Acts xvii. 2, 3.
[2] Tir.: *quare non potuimus vel ex hoc solo argumento cognoscere?*
[3] John v. 35.
[4] Compare Ps. xi. 7; xvii. 31; cxviii. 140; Prov. xxx. 5.

arrival at Emmaus Jesus acted as though He intended to go farther, He was not pretending, but deliberately testing the two disciples. He remained because they stood the test; had they not done so, He would have passed on. St. Augustine assigns an allegorical interpretation to this episode, and says that Jesus desired to indicate symbolically the truth *quod longius postea per ascensionem super omnes caelos iturus esset, nec tamen discipulos deserturus.*[1] The disciples showed that they had stood the test, for they eagerly besought Jesus to tarry with them. According to St. Gregory,[2] they set Christians an example of hospitality toward strangers. The words "Stay with us" seem to suggest that these two disciples lived at Emmaus.

The supper at Emmaus. Soon after they arrived they sat down to their evening meal, and during that meal they recognized their Master. From what happened later in the evening we may infer that they sat down to table at about six o'clock. Jesus took bread, blessed and broke it, and gave it to them, and then they knew Him. There are several reasons for thinking that we ought to understand St. Luke's account as referring to the Holy Eucharist. Those who do not take this view say that the blessing was only the ordinary blessing or grace, pronounced by the head of a household before a meal, but this theory is hardly tenable, for such a blessing was pronounced before the meal began, whereas Christ blessed the bread and gave it to the disciples while the meal was in progress. Whenever we read in the gospels that Jesus blessed bread, we find that it was on some exceptional occasion, as when He fed the multitudes and at the Last Supper. In the Acts of the Apostles,[3] and in St. Paul's epistles,[4] the celebration of Holy Communion is called the breaking of bread, and the same expression occurs frequently in the Fathers,[5] perhaps because it is used in the passage under consideration. The theory that our Lord celebrated the Holy Eucharist at Emmaus gains support from what St. Luke says of the effect of His action. As soon as He gave the bread that

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[1] L. 2. quaest. in evang., Lib. contra mendac.

[2] Hom. 23 in evang.: *peregrinos non solum invitandos ad hospitium, sed etiam trahendos.*

[3] ii. 42, 46; xx. 7, 11.

[4] 1 Cor. x. 16.

[5] Compare Doctrina duodecim apostolorum, 14, 1: κατὰ κυριακὴν δὲ κυρίου συναχθέντες κλάσατε ἄρτον.

He had blessed and broken to the disciples, their eyes were opened and they knew Him. Estius, and more recently Knabenbauer, argue that, not being apostles, the two disciples can have known nothing about the Holy Eucharist, and therefore could not have understood the significance of the breaking of bread at Emmaus; but this argument has not much weight, since all the disciples in Jerusalem must soon have heard of what took place in the cenaculum. Hence the great majority of commentators, both ancient and modern, believe that St. Luke is speaking of the Eucharist. St. Jerome[1] says that our Lord, by celebrating the Eucharistic banquet at the house of Cleophas in Emmaus (which he identifies with Nicopolis), consecrated that dwelling as a church. This theory is rejected by the following Catholic commentators: Lyranus, Cajetan, Estius, Jansenius, senior (not, however, Jansenius, junior),[2] Lamy, Schegg, Schanz, and Knabenbauer.

As soon as our Saviour was recognized by the two disciples, He vanished out of their sight. After His resurrection He appeared and vanished suddenly because His glorified body possessed agility (*agilitas*), in virtue of which it could pass easily and rapidly, like a spirit, from place to place. The sudden disappearance was intended to teach the disciples *redivivi corporis alias esse qualitates; quod substantia quidem esset verum corpus, agilitate et subtilitate spirituale.*[3] Immediately they set out on their way back to Jerusalem, for they were anxious to tell the apostles assembled there that Jesus was indeed risen and had appeared to them. They probably reached the holy city about 9 P.M., for we can gather from St. Luke's account that they went as quickly as possible, being eager to convey the news without delay.[4]

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[1] De locis Hebr. and Epist. 27.

[2] Jansenius (junior) paraphrases the passage thus: *benedixit, ea benedictione, de qua sermo est apud evangelistas in institutione Eucharistiae.*

[3] Jansenius, *ad loc.*

[4] Baron. Ann. ad a. 34, n. 195.

IX. Christ Appears to the Apostles in the Absence of Thomas

Luke xxiv. 36–43

36. Now whilst they were speaking these things, Jesus stood in the midst of them, and saith to them: Peace be to you; it is I, fear not.

37. But they being troubled and frighted, supposed that they saw a spirit.

38. And he said to them: Why are you troubled, and why do thoughts arise in your hearts?

39. See my hands and feet, that it is I myself; handle, and see: for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as you see me to have.

40. And when he had said this, he shewed them his hands and feet.

41. But while they yet believed not, and wondered for joy, he said: Have you here anything to eat?

42. And they offered him a piece of a broiled fish, and a honeycomb.

43. And when he had eaten before them, taking the remains, he gave to them.

John xx. 19–23

19. Now when it was late that same day, the first of the week, and the doors were shut, where the disciples were gathered together for fear of the Jews, Jesus came and stood in the midst, and said to them: Peace be to you.

20. And when he had said this, he shewed them his hands and his side. The disciples therefore were glad, when they saw the Lord.

21. He said therefore to them again: Peace be to you. As the Father hath sent me, I also send you.

22. When he had said this, he breathed on them; and he said to them: Receive ye the Holy Ghost.

23. Whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven them; and whose sins you shall retain, they are retained.

The day of this appearance is stated by St. John with precision, but the hour somewhat vaguely. It is clear, however, from the sequence of events that the word "late" can refer only to what was called the second evening, i.e., the time after sunset. We are told that it was "towards evening"[1] when our Lord went into the house at Emmaus, and after leaving there the two disciples had a three hours' walk[2] back to Jerusalem, and consequently, however much they may have hurried, it is hardly possible for the event recorded in this section to have occurred earlier than 9 P.M. According to St. Luke Jesus appeared to the apostles and some disciples who were with them;[3] probably they had assembled in the cenaculum on Mount Sion. This was the fifth and last time that Jesus appeared on the day of His resurrection, although there is an incidental reference to His having been seen by St. Peter on that day.[4] St. Luke

[1] Luke xxiv. 29.
[2] Luke xxiv. 13.
[3] Luke xxiv. 33, 36.
[4] Luke xxiv. 34.

tells us that He appeared suddenly in the midst of the disciples, and St. John adds the additional detail that the doors were shut.

In discussing how our Lord could pass through closed doors it is usual to refer to His omnipotence as Son of God, and to compare His action on this occasion with His proceeding from His mother's womb without prejudice to her virginity, and also to His miraculous walking on the sea. But it was due to a special faculty (*subtilitas*) of His glorified body that Christ was able to enter the room although the doors were shut, since a body that has risen in glory possesses the faculty of passing freely from place to place unhindered by the resistance of solid bodies.[1]

The accounts given by the two evangelists of this appearance of our Lord to His disciples supplement each other. St. Luke records the incident which convinced them that He whom they beheld was indeed their risen Master; St. John, on the other hand, while alluding only briefly to this event, gives in minute detail the words in which Christ bestowed upon His disciples the power to forgive sins.

When the Prince of Peace appeared, He greeted His followers with the familiar Jewish phrase, "Peace be unto you." He wished them that inward peace which proceeds from the firm belief in His resurrection. The full meaning of this greeting was revealed later. Once before He had said to them, "It is I, be not afraid," [2] and although He now repeated the same words in His familiar voice the disciples were troubled and frightened, thinking that they saw a spirit who had assumed an outward form resembling that of their Master. Various circumstances contributed to cause this fear and produce this false impression: they still failed to believe firmly in the resurrection of Jesus; and He had taken them by surprise when the doors were shut, and there happened nothing to announce His coming; moreover, they were amazed at the qualities of His glorified body.

The task assigned to the apostles was to come forward and bear testimony as eyewitnesses to the fundamental truth of Christ's resurrection.[3] Hence during His forty days' sojourn on earth our risen Lord aimed particularly at impressing this

[1] Tir.: *privilegium hoc est corporum gloriosorum, ut nec pondere premantur, nec mole praepediantur.*
[2] John vi. 20.
[3] Compare Acts i. 21, 22; 1 Cor. xv. 1 *seqq.*

fact upon His followers, and at convincing them of the real and essential identity between His former body and that in which He now appeared. His behavior on the occasion of this His first appearance to the apostles was that of a wise Teacher, for He suggested to His disciples all the reasons which might serve to convince them that He had really risen with a truly human body. In order to prepare them for this instruction, He soothed them by telling them that their fears were groundless and their doubts unjustifiable, because they were at variance with the truth. The words, "Why do thoughts arise in your heart?" must certainly refer to doubts entertained by the disciples as to the identity and reality of Christ's body. St. Augustine lays stress on the verb *ascendere,* and gives the question a mystical interpretation, saying that earthly thoughts *arise,* whereas heavenly thoughts *descendunt in cor.*[1]

In order to remove all doubts, our Saviour invited the disciples to examine and touch His hands, feet, and side, and explained this suggestion by saying, "a spirit hath not flesh and bones as you see me to have." The disciples were to convince themselves that He who stood before them was in very truth the Messiah who had died upon the cross, and that He had really risen with a human body that could be touched.[2] This passage shows us that the *subtilitas* of a risen body does not prevent it from being perceptible to the senses and from being touched. It resembles but it is not a spirit. Moreover, we learn that our Lord's glorious body still bears the marks of His wound-marks as a visible token of the price paid by Him for the redemption of mankind, and of His triumph over Satan. The evangelists do not actually tell us that the disciples touched their Lord's scars, but in his first epistle (I, i) St. John says plainly that he did so.[3] The disciples' joy at receiving this sensible assurance was so great that they were seized with bewilderment, but still did not believe that He whom they had touched was indeed their risen Saviour. St. Luke says explicitly that they "believed not and wondered for joy," and commentators refer to similar effects of joy recorded in the Old and New Testaments. Jacob

[1] Sermo 145, de tempore.
[2] Jansenius: *argumentum praebet verae resurrectionis in vero corpore humano.*
[3] Compare Augustinus, In Ps. 147, and Lib. de unitate eccl., c. 10.

refused to believe the good news that his son Joseph was alive,[1] and the faithful assembled in the house of Mary, John Mark's mother, would not believe that it was Peter when he knocked at the door after his deliverance from prison.[2] There is a psychological explanation for this sort of incredulity. The excessive joy felt on seeing one who has been the object of intense desire is an impediment to firm belief in the attainment of that desire,[3] and in many cases fear of eventual disappointment acts as a deterrent. The disciples' hesitation, their doubt whether they could really believe in Christ's resurrection, was permitted by God for our good, since we see that they were not credulous, and only gradually arrived at the full faith in the resurrection after receiving unquestionable evidence that it had actually occurred.[4]

Our Lord gave His followers a further proof of the reality of His resurrection by partaking of their food. We are bound to believe that He really ate, and have to consider how eating is conceivable in the case of our Saviour after He had risen in glory. Keil thinks that it was a miracle, similar to that which took place when the angels ate with Abraham and Lot. St. Augustine, however, remarks: *quod manducavit potestatis fuit, non egestatis.*[5]

It is scarcely possible to deny that celestial beings may partake of food, although the reality of such eating is questionable. In the present instance Jesus made an exception in order to confirm His disciples' faith in His resurrection. Then at last their doubts vanished, and, as St. John says, "they were glad."

Bestowal of the power to forgive sin. The apostles were then in the right disposition for receiving the power to forgive sin. This all-important episode in the scheme for our salvation was introduced by the words, "Peace be unto you." Our Saviour had uttered this greeting when entering the room; as Prince of Peace He repeated it after a short interval, because *instituturus erat sacramentum pacis.* A Christian possesses the blessing of

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[1] Gen. lv. 26.
[2] Acts xii. 12 *seqq.*
[3] Aug. ad Ps. cxlvii: *quae multum laeta sunt, vix creduntur.*
[4] Leo, Sermo I. de ascensione Domini: *Deum ideo hasce credendi haesitationes ac dubitationes in apostolis permisisse, ne dubitaretur a nobis, ut tot videlicet ostensionibus roboremur in fide.*
[5] Sermo 147, de tempore.

Messianic peace only when he is free from sin and in the state of divine grace. It is therefore very significant that our Saviour greeted His apostles thus at the moment when He was about to confer upon them authority to forgive sins, and so render them peacemakers among men. Our Lord's action suggests that every priest who possesses this authority should keep his own heart free from sin, and filled with, and uplifted by, the peace of God. On two occasions had our Saviour promised to confer the power of forgiveness: first to St. Peter alone,[1] and afterwards to all the apostles;[2] and now, in the mysterious period following His resurrection, He made good His promise. On the very day when He rose from the dead, at about 9 P.M., He conferred upon the apostles the power to forgive sins, and thus He became also in the person of His representatives the Prince of Peace foretold by Isaias.[3] In all probability the scene of this event was the cenaculum on Mount Sion.

"As the Father hath sent me, I also send you." Our Lord here referred to the apostles' special mission to forgive sins, and not to their more general task of carrying out His Messianic work in its entirety. This more general task, that comprised the whole scope of their activity, was assigned to the apostles later on in Galilee. Christ was sent by God the Father, that, in accordance with the divine scheme of salvation, He might "heal the contrite of heart," "preach deliverance to the captives, and sight to the blind," and "set at liberty them that are bruised."[4] He accomplished His mission when He brought the human race, which had languished in bondage to sin, into the liberty of the children of God; He effected this by means of conferring upon the apostles the power to forgive sin, — a power which belonged essentially to Himself as Son of God. Before leaving this world, He commissioned them to act as His representatives on earth, and, by imparting to them the Holy Spirit, bestowed upon them authority to forgive.

He breathed on them and said, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost." This does not refer to the promise that the Holy Ghost would come, but His actual communication took place when these words were uttered. The act of breathing upon the apostles was in itself full of symbolical meaning, but in conjunction

[1] Matthew xvi. 19.
[2] Matthew xviii. 18.
[3] ix. 6.
[4] Luke iv. 18, 19.

with the utterance of these words it became the means of communicating the Holy Ghost to them. Many of the early commentators discuss our Lord's reason for communicating the Holy Ghost to His apostles by means of the outward sign of breath.[1] He intended to furnish them thus with complete assurance that the Holy Ghost with all His gifts of grace had indeed been bestowed upon them, and at the same time He wished to teach them that He sent forth the Holy Spirit, and indicated that the Holy Spirit proceeds at once from the Father and the Son. The Fathers and early commentators suggest that our Lord's breathing upon the apostles is parallel to God's breathing the breath of life into the first man, and, just as this breath imparted to Adam the grace of likeness to God, as well as physical life, so did Christ's breathing upon the apostles indicate that He had power to restore the grace of spiritual life after it had been lost, and that He appointed his apostles to be the ministers of this grace to others. Thus the words, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost" must be understood as referring to a real, immediate bestowal of the Holy Ghost, with all His gifts, whereby the power to forgive sin was conferred upon the apostles. The relation between this bestowal of the Holy Ghost and that which took place at Pentecost has been frequently discussed. St. Jerome deals with it in the ninth *Quaestio* of his *Epistola ad Hedibiam.* Some think that the bestowal of the Holy Ghost began on Easter Sunday and was completed in all its fullness at Pentecost; it is, however, more accurate to say that at Pentecost the Holy Ghost, being the fruit of Christ's work of redemption, was bestowed upon the whole Church, as the principle destined to effect the purification and sanctification of the human race. The apostles were already pure and holy during our Lord's earthly life,[2] and so before His ascension He equipped them with apostolic authority and the gifts necessary to its exercise. At Pentecost they received the Holy Ghost in order that, by means of His gift of understanding, they might fully comprehend the work accomplished by Christ, and by means of His gifts of fortitude and counsel they might become the true representatives of Christ. Moreover, at Pentecost they received the gift of tongues.[3]

[1] Compare Sylveira, ix. 4, 13.
[2] John xiii. 10.
[3] St. Jerome remarks: *hujus quaestionis perfacilis solutio est, si docente*

The authority conferred by our Lord upon the apostles was given in the words: "Whose sins ye shall forgive, they are forgiven them; and whose sins ye shall retain, they are retained." Christ declared quite definitely that the apostles possessed real power to forgive sins, in virtue of having received the Holy Ghost. The expression that He employed precludes all possibility of doubt on this subject, since He used the same verb that He had used in speaking of the remission of sins by God the Father,[1] and in explaining that He Himself, as Son of man, had the divine power to forgive sins.[2] As the apostles did not possess the gift of reading men's hearts, it follows that if they were to exercise their power to forgive or retain sins they must be put in a position to exercise with justice their judicial functions, and this can be done only through a confession of sins on the part of the faithful. Thus our Lord's words must apply to the remission of sins in the Sacrament of Penance, and not to the removal of sin by the administration of Baptism. The power of forgiveness was not, however, conferred upon the apostles personally, but was given them as the representatives of Christ, for the welfare of the faithful. Therefore it abides permanently in His Church. That this must be so is obvious, for there will ever be present the need which in the first instance caused our Lord to confer this power upon His apostles. And since the apostolic power to forgive sins was conferred by a special act of consecration, it can be transmitted only by way of ordination, from one of Christ's representatives to another.

X. Christ Appears to the Apostles when Thomas is Present

John xx. 24–25

24. Now Thomas, one of the twelve, who is called Didymus, was not with them when Jesus came.
25. The other disciples therefore said to him: We have seen the Lord. But he said to them: Except I shall see in his hands the prints of the nails, and put my finger into the place of the nails, and put my hand into his side, I will not believe.

apostolo Paulo Spiritus sancti diversas gratias noverimus. . . . Prima igitur die resurrectionis acceperunt Spiritus sancti gratiam, qua peccata dimitterent et baptizarent et filios Dei facerent. . . . Die autem Pentecostes eis amplius repromissum est, ut baptizarentur Spiritu sancto et induerentur virtute ex alto, qua Christi evangelium cunctis gentibus praedicarent.

[1] Matthew vi. 12, 14. [2] Matthew ix. 2, 5, 6.

JOHN XX. 26–29

26. And after eight days, again his disciples were within, and Thomas with them. Jesus cometh, the doors being shut, and stood in the midst, and said: Peace be to you.

27. Then he saith to Thomas: Put in thy finger hither, and see my hands, and bring hither thy hand and put it into my side; and be not faithless, but believing.

28. Thomas answered, and said to him: My Lord, and my God.

29. Jesus saith to him: Because thou hast seen me, Thomas, thou hast believed: blessed are they that have not seen, and have believed.

St. John alone records this second apparition of our Lord to the apostles; there can be no doubt that, like the first, it occurred in Jerusalem, probably in the cenaculum on Mount Sion.[1] The evangelist tells us the precise time, viz., eight days after the first appearance on Easter Sunday. The prominent feature on the second occasion was that Thomas, who refused to believe the testimony of the other apostles, became now most thoroughly convinced of the truth of the Resurrection, and bore most solemn witness to the fact that He who had risen from the dead was indeed the Messiah and God.

St. John says, at the beginning of his account, that Thomas had been absent when Jesus came to the apostles for the first time. The name Thomas means "twin," and according to tradition this apostle had a twin sister named Lydia. St. John had already mentioned Thomas as a courageous follower of Jesus, ready to face death in his loyalty and devotion to his Master, but still unable to cast aside the erroneous ideas regarding the Messiah current among the Jews.[2] The latter fact is important, since it explains the apostle's behavior when he heard the news of Christ's resurrection. Many commentators have assumed that on Easter Sunday Thomas had not yet rejoined his fellow apostles after their band had been dispersed on the night of our Lord's Passion. The assumption is, however, untenable. St. Luke seems to intimate[3] that Thomas was with the rest on the morning of Easter Sunday, when the women returned from the sepulchre; and the same evangelist states explicitly that the two disciples from Emmaus told the eleven what they had seen. It is true that the term "the twelve" is used to designate the

[1] Compare John xx. 26. The opinion of St. Jerome (In Matth. xxviii. 10) and of others who think that it took place in Galilee cannot be accepted.
[2] Compare John xi. 16; xiv. 5.
[3] xxiv. 10, 11.

apostolic band without reference to the actual number of its members, but this is not the case with "the eleven." We must therefore follow St. Augustine[1] and other commentators[2] who believe that Thomas was present in the cenaculum when the two disciples arrived from Emmaus, but that he had gone away before Jesus appeared. Lamy and others think that there is no reason to be discovered for his departure, but Cornelius à Lapide suggests what may be the truth, viz., that Thomas withdrew because in his opinion the other apostles were too ready to listen to reports of their Lord's resurrection.[3]

The ten who were willing to believe were rewarded, for they beheld their risen Lord, and when Thomas returned they eagerly told him the news. In accordance with his usual custom the evangelist records only the chief point; there can be no doubt, as Thomas's behavior shows, that the apostles gave him all the details of our Lord's appearance, and did not merely say, "We have seen the Lord." In reply Thomas explained that he would not believe in the Resurrection until he had seen and touched the wounds in his Master's hands, feet, and side. He declared that nothing would convince him of the truth of the Resurrection except the evidence of his own senses. The context shows that the words "I will not believe" are a direct denial of the Resurrection.[4] Some commentators try to soften down the statement. St. Cyril regards it as being chiefly an expression of regret on the part of Thomas, because he had been absent when Jesus appeared. St. John Chrysostom thinks that he denied the truth of the apostles' words, not the fact of the Resurrection. St. Ambrose and St. Augustine[5] maintain that he did not question the resurrection, but desired further information regarding the way in which it had taken place. None of these explanations seem borne out by the words of the evangelist, and they are plainly intended to present Thomas's behavior in a more favorable light. Cornelius à Lapide says that Thomas deserved blame for several reasons.

Various circumstances, however, suggest excuses for him.

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[1] De cons. evang. 3, 76.
[2] Bede, Lyranus, Corn. à Lap., Toletus, and Jansenius.
[3] Corn. à Lap. ad. Jo. xx. 24.
[4] Corn. à Lap.: *fuit incredulus circa ipsius resurrectionis Christi veritatem.*
[5] Compare Corn. à Lap.

He still clung tenaciously to the Jews' mistaken ideas of the Messiah, and consequently our Lord's Passion was unexpected and incomprehensible to him, and caused him to lose all hope, and his despondency was the deeper because he had expected so much. The obstinacy revealed by his words was due, partly, to his annoyance at finding that his previous sceptical attitude seemed to be controverted by the course of events. Everything turned upon a fundamental fact to which Thomas, as one of Christ's apostles, was forecast to bear witness, and therefore he was to demand the strongest possible guarantee for the truth of the Resurrection. The Fathers and earlier commentators almost without exception represent Thomas's behavior as permitted by God for the express purpose of strengthening our faith.[1]

Eight days after our Lord's first apparition, the apostles were again gathered together and this time Thomas was present. It was the octave day of the Resurrection, the day we call Low Sunday. According to St. Cyril we may believe that our Lord by sanctifying the first day of the week by appearing on it, and by coming again on the first day of the following week, indicated that the faithful should observe that day by assembling for religious worship.

There is abundant evidence in the New Testament to show that even in apostolic times the Christians observed the first day of the week instead of the Jewish Sabbath, which, being only a foreshadowing of what was to come, ceased to be observed when Christ's work of redemption was accomplished.[2] St. Paul rebuked the Christians in Galatia for still observing the Sabbath,[3] and told the Corinthians[4] that on the first day in the week a collection should be made for the poor in Jerusalem, thus showing plainly that he regarded that day as important in the eyes of Christians. It was on the first day of the week that the disciples at Troas assembled to break bread.[5] In the Apocalypse[6] we read of "the Lord's day," which must certainly be identified with our Sunday, the first day of the week, that we observe in memory of Christ's resurrection. In very early writers we find the

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[1] St. Gregory the Great writes very beautifully (Hom. 26 in evang.): *non hoc casu, sed divina dispensatione gestum est. Egit namque miro modo superna clementia, ut discipulus ille dubitans, dum in magistro suo vulnera palparet carnis, in nobis vulnera sanaret infidelitatis. Plus enim nobis Thomae infidelitas ad fidem, quam fides credentium discipulorum profuit; quia dum ille ad fidem palpando reducitur, nostra mens omni dubitatione postposita in fide solidatur.*

[2] Col. ii. 16, 17.

[3] Gal. iv. 10.

[4] 1 Cor. xvi. 2.

[5] Acts xx. 7.

[6] i. 10.

expressions *dies Domini, dies Dominica* used of festivals of the Church. The words occur in St. Ignatius,[1] Dionysius of Corinth,[2] Tertullian,[3] and others. Pliny the younger,[4] in speaking of Christians, says: *stato die ante lucem convenire carmenque Christo quasi Deo dicere;* he is undoubtedly referring to religious assemblies on the first day of the week. The earliest allusion to Sunday in the Fathers occurs in the Epistle of Barnabas, who says that the Christians in his time observed the eighth day, on which Christ rose from the dead, with gladness and joy.[5]

On the occasion when Thomas was present, our Lord appeared to the apostles in the same way as before and greeted them with the same words. In His mercy He revealed Himself to Thomas as both omniscient and gracious. Addressing him, as He had addressed the other apostles on the previous Sunday, He invited him to examine the scars of the wounds, and added as a gentle reproof, "be not faithless but believing," i.e., "believe that I have really risen from the dead." Some commentators think that the Greek *μὴ γίνου ἄπιστος* should be rendered "become not faithless," and take it to mean that Thomas, having denied the resurrection of Christ, was in great danger of losing his faith altogether, and for this reason Jesus warned him of his peril. That the danger existed was of course a fact, but the context here shows that our Lord was appealing to Thomas no longer to doubt, but firmly to believe in His resurrection. The evangelist does not tell us whether Thomas actually touched the marks of the wounds; St. Augustine[6] and the majority of commentators think that he did so. From the words, "bring hither thy hand and put it into my side," some exegetes infer that the wound was large enough for a man's hand to be thrust into it;[7] the expression may, however, be merely an invitation to touch and feel the wound.

When Thomas had seen, and in all probability had also touched, the sacred wounds, he was overpowered with the impression produced by them and enlightened by divine grace, so that he made a solemn profession of faith and exclaimed, "My

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[1] Ep. ad Magn., c. 9: *μηκέτι σαββατίζοντες, ἀλλὰ κατὰ κυριακὴν* (sc. *ἡμέραν*) *ζῶντες.*

[2] Ap. Euseb. H. E. 4, 31.

[3] De corona milit. c. 3; De Jejun. c. 15.

[4] Ep. x. 97.

[5] Ep. Barnab. C. 15, 9: *διὸ καὶ ἄγομεν τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ὀγδοην εἰς εὐφροσύνην ἐν ᾗ καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν.*

[6] Tract. 121 in Joann.

[7] Jansenius: *hinc colligitur, tantae latitudinis fuisse vulnus.*

Lord and my God." Cornelius à Lapide follows St. Hilary and St. Ambrose, and sums up the meaning of Thomas's exclamation thus: *voce Dominus confitetur humanam Christi naturam, voce Deus divinam.* He bore testimony to Christ as both God and Man.

A few scholars reject the above explanation of this passage. Theodorus of Mopsuestia, who is followed by the Socinians and others, maintains that Thomas's words are not a profession of faith in the Person of Christ, but are merely an ejaculation expressing praise to God the Father, and were elicited by the powerful impression which the whole episode had produced on the apostle. This theory falls to the ground when we remember that Christ Himself regarded the words as a profession of faith. There can be no doubt that they were addressed to Jesus, for the evangelist states explicitly that Thomas "answered and said to Him." Moreover, the disciples never used the expression "My Lord" to designate any but Christ, and therefore the following words "and my God" must also apply to Him. None of the attempts made to weaken Thomas's profession of faith are in harmony with either the language or the teaching of the gospel. In the Greek, the article prefixed to the name of God makes the meaning perfectly clear. It is quite in keeping with the whole tenor of his gospel that St. John aims at showing, by means of Thomas's testimony, how our Lord revealed Himself, and led His disciples to recognize the truth proclaimed at the beginning of the fourth gospel. If we give the name "God" as used by Thomas, its proper meaning, we shall see the natural connection between this episode and the words with which the evangelist concludes his account of it: "These [things] are written that you may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing you may have life in his name."[1]

Our Lord expresses His approval of Thomas's profession of faith by saying, "Because thou hast seen me, thou hast believed." Those who maintain that Thomas only looked at and did not touch the scars in His hands and feet, base their theory upon these words, but it is quite clear that the verb "to see" may here include all perception through the senses.[2] What Thomas believed was not alone the fact of the Resurrection, but that Jesus, whom the apostle beheld with his bodily eyes, was indeed Lord and God. St. Augustine says very beautifully:[3] *videbat tangebatque hominem et confitebatur Deum, quem non videbat neque tangebat; sed per hoc, quod videbat atque tangebat, illud jam remota dubitatione credebat.*

Our Lord's concluding words, "Blessed are they that have not seen and [yet] have believed," contain not only a gentle

[1] John xx. 31.
[2] Aug. Tract. 121 in Joann.: *non ait, tetigisti me, sed, vidisti me, quoniam generalis quodammodo sensus est visus.*
[3] *loc. cit.*

reproof to Thomas, but also encouragement for those who have not the happiness of seeing their Redeemer face to face. St. Augustine writes: *quod sequitur* (*sc. beati qui non viderunt et crediderunt*), *magis gentium fidem praedicat atque commendat.* Thomas is not excluded; he, too, was blessed, since to him apply the words uttered on a previous occasion, "Blessed are the eyes that see the things which you see,"[1] but the happiness of those who believe without seeing is the greater because their faith is more meritorious.

In conclusion we must allude briefly to the following questions: As Thomas was absent when his fellow apostles received power to forgive sins, did he not receive it at all? and, if he did receive it, when was it conferred upon him? Jansenius refers to the story of Eldad and Medad, in Num. xi. 26, etc., and thinks that, through the action of the Holy Ghost, Thomas received the power at the same time as the other apostles, because he belonged to the number of those upon whom Jesus bestowed that power in the first instance. Other commentators suppose that it was conferred upon him later.

XI. Christ Appears to Several Apostles near the Lake of Tiberias

John xxi. 1–11

1. After this Jesus shewed himself again to the disciples at the sea of Tiberias. And he shewed himself after this manner.

2. There were together Simon Peter, and Thomas who is called Didymus, and Nathanael who was of Cana in Galilee, and the sons of Zebedee, and two others of his disciples.

3. Simon Peter saith to them: I go a fishing. They say to him: We also come with thee. And they went forth, and entered into the ship: and that night they caught nothing.

4. But when the morning was come, Jesus stood on the shore: yet the disciples knew not that it was Jesus.

5. Jesus therefore said to them: Children, have you any meat? They answered him: No.

6. He saith to them: Cast the net on the right side of the ship: and you shall find. They cast therefore: and now they were not able to draw it for the multitude of fishes.

7. That disciple therefore whom Jesus loved, said to Peter: It is the Lord. Simon Peter, when he heard that it was the Lord, girt his coat about him (for he was naked) and cast himself into the sea.

8. But the other disciples came in the ship (for they were not far from the land; but as it were two hundred cubits) dragging the net with fishes.

9. As soon then as they came to land, they saw hot coals lying, and a fish laid thereon, and bread.

10. Jesus saith to them: Bring hither of the fishes which you have now caught.

11. Simon Peter went up, and drew the net to land, full of great fishes, one hundred and fifty three.

[1] Luke x. 23.

JOHN xxi. 12–14

And although there were so many, the net was not broken.

12. Jesus saith to them: Come, and dine. And none of them who were at meat, durst ask him: Who art thou? knowing that it was the Lord.

13. And Jesus cometh and taketh bread, and giveth them, and fish in like manner.

14. This is now the third time that Jesus was manifested to his disciples, after he was risen from the dead.

The events recorded in this section occurred in Galilee, on the western shore of the Lake of Tiberias.

This lake is about 650 feet below the level of the Mediterranean. It is 160 feet deep, and its length at the present time is about 18 or 20 miles; its greatest width is 7 or 8 miles. Josephus gives an eloquent description of the beauty and fertility of the country around it,[1] which is still one of the most fertile districts in Palestine.[2] In Holy Scripture the lake is known by various names; in the Old Testament it is called Kinnerêth or Kinnarôth, either after a town of similar name[3] that was situated on the lake, or because in shape it resembled a lute (Kinnor). In the New Testament it is called the Sea or Lake of Tiberias, after the town of Tiberias, built by Herod Antipas on the southwest shore, and named by him after the Emperor Tiberius. It was also known as the Sea of Galilee or Lake of Genesareth,[4] the latter name being that of the district lying to the west of the lake.

To this region, which had been privileged to be the scene of our Lord's public ministry, did the apostles withdraw, as they had been commanded,[5] but they had remained at Jerusalem until the octave day of the Resurrection,[6] and probably started northward immediately after that day. St. John gives no precise indication of place, and merely says that Jesus showed Himself to the disciples at the Sea of Tiberias. It is probable that this meeting occurred on the northwest shore of the lake, near Bethsaida of Galilee or Capharnaum. We cannot determine the length of the interval between the second and third occasions on which our Lord appeared to the apostles; but at least a week must have elapsed since they had seen Him on Low Sunday.

On this third occasion Jesus appeared to seven disciples, of whom five were undoubtedly apostles, and the others possibly. St. John gives a list of them, and mentions a certain Nathanael of Cana in Galilee, between Peter and Thomas on the one hand, and the sons of Zebedee on the other. The same evangelist

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[1] B. J. iii. 10, 8.
[2] Josue xix. 35.
[3] Socin. 266.
[4] Matthew iv. 18; Luke v. 1.
[5] Matthew xxvi. 32; xxviii. 7, 10.
[6] John xx. 26.

alone speaks of a disciple named Nathanael, who seems to have been one of St. John the Baptist's followers, and was brought by Philip to Christ, when He was teaching near the Jordan. The synoptic writers do not mention Nathanael, but the position of his name here shows that he must have ranked among the apostles. If this be correct, we may identify him with the apostle whom the synoptic evangelists call Bartholomew, whose name occurs in all the lists of the apostles next to that of Philip. Philip introduced Nathanael to our Lord, and the name Bartholomew is a patronymic, meaning son of Tholmai, so that the apostle's full name was Nathanael, son of Tholmai.[1] According to Eusebius[2] he went to preach the faith in India (Yemen), carrying with him St. Matthew's gospel in the original Hebrew.

Besides the five apostles named we hear of two other disciples whose names are not mentioned; commentators are divided as to whether or not they belonged to the apostolic band; Schegg suggests that they may have been the apostles Andrew and Philip.

St. John introduces his account of Christ's third appearance with the words, "He showed Himself after this manner," viz., in the way and under the circumstances about to be described. This introduction indicates that the evangelist regarded the attendant circumstances as of the utmost importance, and desired to represent them in that light to others. In compliance with St. Peter's suggestion, the seven disciples went out fishing, and although they toiled all night, they caught nothing. It may seem surprising that after their Master's resurrection they still engaged in fishing, for Simon Peter had said to our Lord, "Behold, we have left all things and have followed thee."[3] This difficulty has been thoroughly discussed by the Fathers, especially by St. Augustine and St. Gregory the Great,[4] who think that the apostles returned for a time to their former occupation in order to earn a living. They had never been forbidden to engage in their ordinary work while preaching the gospel, provided that they could do so without prejudice to their apostolic activity (*apostolatus integritate servata,* St. Augustine); more-

[1] John i. 45; compare Estius ad Joann. xxi. 2.
[2] H. E. 5, 13.
[3] Matthew xix. 27.
[4] August. Tract. 122 in Joann.; Gregor. Hom. 24 in evang.; compare Breviar. fer. iv, pasch.

over they had no other means of providing themselves with the necessaries of life. We know that St. Paul supported himself by his labor.

Early in the morning Jesus appeared on the shore of the lake and was not recognized by His disciples. Many reasons have been suggested for their failure to recognize Him. Some think that they were still over a hundred yards from the shore when He appeared, and could not see Him clearly owing to the distance and the dim light of the dawn. Our Lord's words, however, seem to show that the disciples had probably reached the land before He suddenly appeared. In this case we must believe that they did not know Him, partly because of the change in His glorified body, and partly because He ordained that it should be so, since He desired to reveal Himself in the significant action that He was about to perform.

In order to attract the disciples' attention and to prepare them for what was to follow, Jesus asked them whether they had anything to eat.[1] Their curt and decided answer, "No," shows that they had no idea who was addressing them, but nevertheless in obedience to His instructions they resumed their fishing, being confident of success. They were richly rewarded, for immediately they caught a great many large fish. John, the beloved disciple, was the first to recognize Jesus, and said to Simon Peter, "It is the Lord." Menochius distinguishes accurately the subjective and objective reasons for this recognition, and says that John knew our Lord both *ex multitudine piscium* and *ex celeritate capiendi.* The apostle at once perceived the catch to be miraculous, and felt no doubt that He who had ordered them to cast out the net was the Lord. It does not seem correct to assume that John recognized Jesus because he looked at Him more intently, while Peter was busy with the net, and that Jesus in the meantime had laid aside His unfamiliar appearance. The Fathers and also some later commentators think that John's perpetual virginity was the special reason why he possessed unusual susceptibility for the things of heaven, and could penetrate so deeply into the mysteries of God's design for man's salvation.[2] John was the first to recognize his Master, but Peter,

[1] Jansenius: *ut eorum attentionem in se dirigeret et congrue ad miraculum delaberetur.*

[2] Jerome, Epist. ad Pammachium: *Prior virginitas virginale corpus ag-*

always impetuous, was the first to reach Him. Girding his upper garment about him, he plunged into the water and swam to the land. The others were not long after him, for they were only about a hundred yards from the shore. They had to drag the net full of fishes behind them through the water, since they were unable to lift it into the boat.

The disciples, having already witnessed one miracle while on the lake, were destined to behold something very extraordinary when they reached the land. Although according to their own testimony there had been no food at hand, they now found a fire of hot coals and a fish laid thereon, and some bread. These things were miraculously provided,[1] and were intended to convince the disciples that Jesus had caused them to catch the multitude of fish in order to remove all doubt as to His resurrection, and to reveal Him as the Giver of all good things, and, as such, independent of the help and co-operation of His followers. They were, however, to bring some of the fish that they had themselves caught and add them to the one that their Master had provided. Peter again came forward at the head of the disciples, drew the net, which was unbroken, to land, and counted the fish that it contained, — one hundred and fifty-three in all. Then our Lord turned to His disciples and invited them to come and eat. They probably took their places round the fire, and St. John, who was an eyewitness, implies that they were deeply impressed, for he tells us that none of them dared to ask who Jesus was, for they knew that it was the Lord. The evangelist's words show plainly that the disciples would have liked to question Jesus, but dared not do so. The context does not bear out the interpretation that they deemed it unnecessary to ask Him anything.[2] On the contrary, they would gladly have obtained definite information by questioning Jesus. They knew that their Master had indeed risen from the dead and was standing before them, but they desired to hear from Him how He had risen, how He could appear suddenly when the doors were shut, and again vanish from sight, and also why, when He appeared, He was not at once recognized by His disciples. They wished

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noscit. Lyranus says St. John was the first to recognize Jesus: *nam puritas mentis et corporis maxime disponit hominem ad cognitionem divinorum.*

[1] *Opera angelorum;* so Lyranus, Menochius, Jansenius, and others.

[2] Lamy.

to be informed, not regarding the identity, but regarding the qualities of His glorified body. So great were their awe and reverence that the disciples refrained from addressing any such questions to their risen Saviour. St. Augustine[1] thinks that the fact of our Lord's resurrection was too evident for the disciples to venture to say, "Who art thou?" because such a question would imply want of faith in the reality of the Resurrection.

The meal began, our Lord acting as host, as He did when He fed the multitude miraculously. He handed first the bread and then the fishes to the disciples. St. John does not tell us whether or not Jesus partook of the food, but it is probable that He did so. When St. Peter was speaking at Caesarea, in the house of Cornelius, he said that he and the other apostles, who were witnesses preordained by God, ate and drank with Christ after His resurrection.[2] The apostle seems to have been referring to this occasion. St. John's account concludes with the words that this was the third time that Jesus was manifested to His disciples after He was risen from the dead. The evangelist was plainly reckoning the times when our Lord appeared to a group of His followers: the first time on the evening of Easter Sunday, the second a week later on Low Sunday, and the third again about a week later in Galilee.

St. Augustine begins his treatise on the miraculous draught of fishes[3] with the words: *hoc est magnum sacramentum in magno Joannis evangelio, et ut vehementius commendaretur, loco ultimo scriptum.* That the whole episode is symbolical is indicated, or rather explicitly stated, by our Lord Himself, and is not merely a fanciful suggestion on the part of the Fathers and subsequent commentators. The first call to the disciples was given when they were fishing in Galilee,[4] and it was when they were engaged in the same occupation that the chief pastoral office was conferred upon St. Peter. The full significance of the action becomes apparent when these two facts are set in juxtaposition. Our Saviour Himself pointed out the connection between the catching of fish and the work of the apostles in the Church that He had founded, for He obviously referred to the miraculous draught of fishes when He said to Peter: "Fear not, from henceforth thou shalt catch men,"[5] and, when He was explaining the parable of the net cast into the sea,[6] He said: "So shall it be at the end of the world. The angels shall go out and shall separate the wicked from among the just, and shall cast them into the furnace of fire."

There are points of resemblance and also of difference in the accounts given by the evangelists of the draught of fishes caught before the call of

[1] Tract. 122 in Joann.; also Lyranus, Jansenius, to some extent Corn. à Lapide, Menochius, and others.
[2] Acts x. 41. [3] Tract. 122 in Joann. [4] Luke v. 1.
[5] Luke v. 10. [6] Matthew xiii. 47.

the apostles, and that which preceded the bestowal of the chief pastoral office upon St. Peter. In each case the fish were caught at an hour usually unfavorable for successful fishing, after a night had been spent in unprofitable toil; in each case the net was cast in compliance with Christ's command, and it was Peter's boat that was launched into the water, and Peter was prominent on each occasion, showing his impetuous and resolute character. The first time he fell on his knees and confessed his own unworthiness and the exalted dignity of Jesus; the second time he plunged into the sea in order to reach his beloved Master before anyone else. The following are the chief points of difference: In the one case we hear of but one boat, in the other of two; on the first occasion Jesus was on board the vessel, on the second He stood on the shore, while the disciples fished; the second time the nets were cast only on the right side of the boat, and did not break under the strain; the first time they were cast all round the boat and did break. In one case the fish were lifted on board while the boat was still afloat, and carried on it to land; in the other case they were dragged to shore in the net, Peter being the chief agent; St. Luke tells us nothing as to the exact size and number of the fish caught, St. John gives very precise information; on the earlier occasion catching the fish was the prelude to the call of the apostles, on the later to a refreshing meal.

According to Schegg,[1] the first miraculous draught of fishes symbolized the apostles' activity among the Jews, the second among the Gentiles. According to St. Augustine,[2] the second refers to the events at the end of the world, and is a symbol of the Church of the elect. The sea is the world, the boat is the Church of Christ, and Simon Peter, the owner of the boat and the chief agent in catching the fish, is the foundation and chief shepherd of the Church. The fish are human beings who are brought to Christ by the preaching of salvation and the administration of the sacraments. The want of success that attended the fishing undertaken by the disciples at night suggests that those who fish for men have no prospect of success if they act on their own counsel and not in accordance with God's commission and the light of the gospel. The casting of the net on the right hand side is interpreted in various ways. St. Augustine connects it with the admission of the just, who stand at our Lord's right hand,[3] to the joys of heaven. Others regard it as a warning that those who fish for men must act in harmony with Christ and have a pure intention. The dry land contrasted with the fickle and often stormy sea is a type of the security and permanence of the life on which the faithful enter at the end of the world. While the fish are being caught, our risen and glorified Saviour is not, as before, on the storm-tossed boat, but on the land, for since His resurrection He has remained aloof from the tempests of earthly life, and has governed the world from heaven, whither He will bring His faithful followers in the fullness of time. The fish that were caught and dragged to land were large and perfect, and typify those Christians who have been true to the practice of their religion in this life, and will therefore be admitted to eternal happiness. A symbolical interpretation has been assigned even to the number of fish caught. According to Appianus,[4] a Greek poet who lived in the reign

[1] ad Joann. xxi. 14.

[2] Tract. 122 in Joann., also St. Gregory, Hom. 24, in evang., Lyr., Corn. à Lap., Jansenius, Laurent, etc.

[3] Matthew xxv. 33, 34.

[4] He was the author of an epic poem called Halieutica, which is still extant.

of Marcus Aurelius, there existed 153 varieties of fish, and consequently St. Jerome connects the number 153 with the task imposed upon the Church of bringing *all* men to salvation: *dum et nobiles et ignobiles, divites et pauperes et omne genus hominum de mari hujus saeculi extrahitur ad salutem.*[1] Other commentators split up the 153 into 100 + 50 + 3, but their explanations vary. St. Cyril says that the 100 represents the Gentiles who accept Christianity, the 50 the Jews who are converted, and the 3 is the symbol of the Trinity, in which both Gentiles and Jews must believe if they are to be saved. Maldonatus says that the 100 stands for the married people, the 50 for the widowed, and the 3 for virgins. According to Lamy[2] there is a connection between the number of fish caught and the 153,600 proselytes who were in the Holy Land in the time of Solomon.[3]

The meal on the seashore, after the work was done, represents the joys of heaven, when we have done with this life and all its anxieties, labors, and struggles. The mystery of the fish provided by Christ for His disciples is explained very briefly but beautifully by St. Augustine in the words *Piscis assus est Christus passus.*[4] This statement becomes intelligible when we remember how common the symbolic use of a fish was in early times. The Biblical accounts of miraculous draughts of fishes, the parable of the net, and the miraculous feeding of the multitudes with loaves and fishes no doubt caused the fish to be employed as a Christian symbol. It represented man won over to Christ by faith and baptism, and it also was an expression of belief in our divine Redeemer and of hope of salvation through Him. The letters of the Greek word ἰχθύς (*piscis*) are the first letters of the words Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, θεοῦ υἱός, σωτήρ (*Jesus Christus, filius Dei, Salvator*).[5] Thus when St. Augustine says that the fish cooked and prepared for the disciples was a type *Christi passi,* he is using the ordinary symbol of the fish to express the profound truth that Christ was prepared by the furnace of suffering to become the food of the faithful, — "The bread that I will give is my flesh, for the life of the world."[6]

XII. Christ Confers the Primacy upon Peter

John xxi. 15–17

15. When therefore they had dined, Jesus saith to Simon Peter: Simon, son of John, lovest thou me more than these? He saith to him: Yea, Lord, thou knowest that I love thee. He saith to him: Feed my lambs.

16. He saith to him again: Simon, son of John, lovest thou me? He saith to him: Yea, Lord, thou knowest that I love thee. He saith to him: Feed my lambs.

17. He said to him the third time: Simon, son of John, lovest thou me? Peter was grieved, because he had said to him the third time, Lovest thou me? And he said to him: Lord, thou knowest all things: thou knowest that I love thee. He said to him: Feed my sheep.

St. John alone of the evangelists records how Christ bestowed upon Simon Peter the office of supreme pastor of the universal

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[1] In Ezech. xlvii. 9.
[2] *ad loc.*
[3] 2 Chron. ii. 17.
[4] Tract. 123 in Joann.
[5] John vi. 52.
[6] Compare Tertull. de Bapt. 1; August. de civit. Dei, 18, 23.

Church. The introductory words, "when therefore they had dined," enables us to picture with a fair amount of certainty the circumstances under which Peter received the primacy that had already been promised him. The scene of this all-important event was the western shore of the Lake of Genesareth, probably near Capharnaum or Bethsaida, and it took place about a fortnight after our Lord's resurrection, immediately after the miraculous draught of fishes and the subsequent meal. As we have seen in the preceding chapter, there were present on this occasion, so full of significance for the universal Church, besides Simon Peter, also Thomas, Nathanael (Bartholomew), James and John the sons of Zebedee, and two other disciples, whose names are not given.

In His wisdom, our divine Saviour had long before taught His followers the chief facts connected with His work of redemption; He had spoken of baptism, of His own Passion, Death, Resurrection, and Ascension, of the coming of the Holy Ghost, and of the Sacrament of the Altar. Again and again, in very different ways, He had referred to St. Peter's office as Primate and Chief Shepherd of the Flock, so that it is undoubtedly of divine institution. We who can look back upon the history of the Church and the authority of the Holy See during a period of almost two thousand years, are forced to turn to our divine Master with humble gratitude, and thank Him for having set St. Peter's pre-eminence beyond the range of all doubt, and for having thus firmly established him as the centre of unity for the Church that He instituted for the salvation of mankind.

We have now to consider the chief events recorded in the Bible which led up to the bestowal of the primacy upon Peter. St. John shows his full appreciation of the situation when he designates the apostle who was about to receive this honor by both his original name and that which was conferred upon him later. Among the ancients a name was no mere meaningless sound, but was fraught with significance, for it expressed the characteristic features of the man who bore it. The addition or bestowal of a name by God indicated a very special destiny or function assigned to the person on whom it was conferred. This was true in the case of the names Abraham,[1] Jacob,[2] Emmanuel,[3] John the Baptist,[4] and Jesus.[5] When, therefore, a new name was given to Simon, we are quite justified in the *a priori* assumption that he thereby received a fresh dignity and a special office. The

[1] Gen. xvii. 5. [2] Gen. xxxii. 28. [3] Isa. vii. 14.
[4] Luke i. 13. [5] Matthew i. 21.

circumstances under which the new name was given to the apostle bear out this theory. We read in Holy Scripture that the name Peter was first promised and then actually given to Simon, that he was confirmed in the possession of his new name, the meaning of which was explained, and, finally, that what was foretold and signified by this name was fully realized. Simon had originally been a disciple of John the Baptist, was brought to our Lord at the Jordan by his brother Andrew, and then joined the first band of Christ's disciples. Our divine Lord, who reads the hearts of men, perceived the sturdy faith and decision of character which rendered Simon peculiarly fitted to be the foundation and chief shepherd of the Church, and therefore He promised him the name Cephas (*Petrus*), thus indicating the task that he would be required to perform.[1] The name was bestowed upon the apostle when he was called to be one of Christ's chosen band.[2] When Simon Peter bore solemn testimony to the fact that Jesus, the Son of Man, was the Messiah promised to the Jews and the Son of God, His Master not only confirmed him in the possession of the name of Peter, but explained that he should be the rock on which the Church would be built, and that in the same Church he should hold the office of supreme teacher and ruler.[3] The actual appointment of Simon Peter to this exalted office, to which, according to our Lord's own explanation, the name Peter referred, took place after the Resurrection, near the Lake of Genesareth in Galilee. From what has been said, we shall see the significance of St. John's statement at the beginning of his account: "Jesus saith to Simon Peter." Moreover, the circumstances attending Peter's appointment to the primacy have a symbolical bearing upon his exalted position. According to St. Luke,[4] a miraculous draught of fishes preceded the first call of the disciples in Galilee, and even then Simon Peter occupied a privileged place. Two ships were stationed near the shore, but our Lord chose to go on board the one belonging to Simon, who then launched out into the deep and let down his net. The other disciples, of whom St. Luke mentions only the sons of Zebedee, although Andrew was probably also present, acted as Simon's assistants; he was the spokesman, and proclaimed the draught of fish to be miraculous, and it was to him that Jesus addressed the solemn words, "Fear not; from henceforth thou shalt catch men," thus pointing out the symbolism of the act of fishing. Both ancient and modern commentators regard this utterance as an allusion to the prominent position which Peter was to occupy in the Church of Christ. His ship is a type of the Church which he was to govern; the other apostles were fishers of men only so far as they acted under his direction and in conjunction with him, for the epithet "fisher of men" was applied primarily to him by our Lord. A similar occurrence took place immediately before his appointment to the primacy, with the difference that on this occasion Peter was still more conspicuous. He suggested going out to fish, and the others simply followed his lead and embarked with him. It is true that John was the first to recognize Jesus, but Peter was the first to reach Him, and, having done so, he went back to the ship and dragged the net full of fishes to the shore.

Explanation of the evangelist's account of Simon Peter's appointment to the primacy. Jesus addressed the apostle as Simon, son of John, or son of Jonas. He mentioned the name

[1] John i. 42, 43.
[2] Mark iii. 16; Luke vi. 14.
[3] Matthew xvi. 16.
[4] v. 1 *seqq.*

of Simon's father, not in order to distinguish the apostle from Simon the Canaanite, also called Simon Zelotes, for such a distinction was unnecessary when the disciples could see for themselves to whom Jesus was speaking; nor was it for the benefit of the readers of the gospel, for St. John makes it abundantly clear that Jesus was addressing Simon Peter. Simon, son of John, should be regarded as a solemn and formal mode of address, conveying an important meaning, as we shall see if we consider: (1) that on the first occasion when Simon was brought to Jesus our Lord turned His searching gaze upon him and said, "Thou art Simon, the son of Jona; thou shalt be called Cephas;[1] (2) later on, when Peter made his well-known confession of faith, our Lord said: "Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jona; because flesh and blood hath not revealed it to thee, but my Father who is in heaven. And I say to thee that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it."[2] There can be no doubt that the mode of address, Simon, son of John, reminded Peter of these two previous occasions, and even if it had not done so, our Lord's next words contained an obvious allusion to them. We may believe, therefore, that our Lord's form of address, "Simon, son of John," was intended to intensify the solemnity of the moment, to show that Jesus was speaking to the apostle whom He had already distinguished above the others, and to proclaim the fulfillment of all that had been promised to him.[3]

Our Lord proceeded to ask Peter the question, "Lovest thou me more than these?" and repeated it twice, slightly modifying its form in accordance with the answer given. Thrice did the apostle reply that he loved his Master, but the third time his sorrow constrained him to emphasize Christ's omniscience. He was asked whether he had greater love for Jesus than the other apostles possessed, but, remembering the penalty that he had paid for his excessive self-confidence,[4] he was content humbly to assure his Master of his love. Thrice did Peter protest that he loved Jesus, and thrice did he receive the order to feed His sheep and lambs. If we wish to analyze the incident more

[1] John i. 42.
[2] Matthew xvi. 17, 18.
[3] Jansenius: *tot cautionibus Christus nos monere voluit, ne . . . omnibus discipulis commune esse putaremus id quod hic Petro tribuit.*
[4] Matthew xxvi. 33.

closely, we are confronted with three questions: Why did Jesus insist so much upon Peter's love? Why did He ask the question and pronounce His order three times? How are we to understand the instructions to feed Christ's sheep and lambs?

After Peter had made his solemn, definite confession of faith, the primacy in Christ's Church was promised him, and after he had professed his deep love of his Master, he was appointed chief shepherd of Christ's entire flock. Faith and love are most closely connected, faith is the root of love, and from faith love derives its life and strength. Only the love that proceeds from firm faith has power to lift men out of the lower sphere of their own selfish thoughts and aims, and to raise them to a higher level, where they become capable of heroic deeds for the honor of God and the welfare of men. The mutual relation between faith and love shows that if any shepherd of souls wishes to be successful in his calling, he must possess both firm faith and unselfish love. We see, therefore, why at the moment when our Lord was about to appoint Peter to be the chief shepherd of His flock, He required of him more ardent love than of the other disciples. Every true shepherd must necessarily possess a generous, self-sacrificing love of his sheep, as our Saviour taught in the incomparably beautiful parable of the Good Shepherd.[1] When on this occasion He asked St. Peter, "Lovest thou me?" He was completing the instruction already given in the parable, and teaching that a shepherd's love for his flock must be the outcome of his love for Christ, who purchased that flock with His own blood.[2] Since a shepherd of souls has to feed and govern Christ's flock, he must love them with that pure and holy love which proceeds from a love of Christ, supplies strength and courage and power to achieve noble works, aiming only at God's glory and the good of souls.[3]

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[1] John x. 1.

[2] Acts xx. 28.

[3] Aug. Tract. 123 in Joann.: *Quid est aliud, diligis me? pasce oves meas, quam si diceretur: si me diligis, non te pascere cogita, sed oves meas sicut meas pasce, non sicut tuas; gloriam meam in eis quaere, non tuam; dominium meum, non tuum; lucra mea, non tua?* St. Augustine goes on to warn shepherds against self-love and self-seeking, since both are fraught with danger both to themselves and the flocks entrusted to their care: *non sint seipsos amantes, qui pascunt oves Christi, ne tanquam suas, sed tanquam ipsius eas pascant, et velint ex illis sua lucra conquirere, sicut amatores pecuniae: vel eis dominari sicut elati; vel gloriari de honoribus, quos ab eis sumunt, sicut superbi; vel in tantum progredi, ut etiam haereses faciant*

Why did Jesus ask Peter three times whether he loved Him, and commission him three times to feed His sheep? We cannot assume that the threefold question implied any doubt of St. Peter's assurance, for Jesus, being omniscient, perceived the apostle's love, and showed Himself to be aware of it by the very fact of bidding him to feed His sheep even as soon as Peter had answered for the first time. The threefold question and the threefold commission mark the solemnity of the occasion, but we may notice further that three is the number of spiritual perfection,[1] and that there were three stages in the promise of the primacy: Peter was first declared to be the foundation upon which Christ would build His Church; then the keys of the kingdom of heaven were promised him, and, lastly, the power to bind and to loose from sin was conferred upon him. Thrice did Jesus question Peter as to his love, thrice did He appoint him to feed His flock, thus to lay stress upon the importance of the office bestowed upon him, and upon the necessity of perfect love of Christ as an indispensable condition for the due discharge of its duties. Of course St. Peter's threefold profession of love may be compared with his threefold denial of his Master, but we may be sure that our Lord did not ask the question three times for the express purpose of giving the apostle an opportunity to atone for his previous denial. Peter had already given expression to his profound sorrow for his fall and to his intense love of the Master whom he had denied, for immediately after the denial he went out and wept bitterly.

When our Lord asked Peter whether he loved Him more than the other apostles, the answer was only, "Thou knowest that I love thee"; but there can be no doubt that his love was really greater than that of the others,

sicut blasphemi; nec cedant sanctis patribus, sicut parentibus non obedientes; et eis, qui illos corrigere volunt, quia perire nolunt, mala pro bonis reddant sicut ingrati, interficiant animas et suas et alienas sicut irreligiosi; non compatiantur infirmis sicut sine affectione; famam sanctorum maculare conentur; sicut detractores, cupiditates pessimas non refrenent sicut incontinentes; exerceant lites sicut immites; nesciant subvenire sicut sine benignitate; indicent inimicis piorum, quae occultanda cognoverint, sicut proditores; humanam verecundiam inverecunda exagitatione perturbent sicut procaces; non intelligant neque quae loquuntur neque de quibus affirmant sicut caecati; laetitias carnales spiritualibus gaudiis anteponant sicut voluptatum amatores magis quam Dei.

[1] August. De serm. Dom. in monte, c. 19. Jansenius writes: *trinum illud examen amoris . . . significat, incesso, stabili ac perfecto Christi amore ad pascendum opus esse, terna enim inculcatio perfectionis indicium est. Unde etiam ter committit ei gregem suum, ut indicet commissae rei magnitudinem ac definitum committentis consilium.*

and that Jesus, by conferring the primacy upon Peter, gave him a greater proof of affection than He gave to any of the rest.[1] This being so, we have to consider why John, and not Peter, is called the beloved disciple. This question is discussed more or less thoroughly by the earlier commentators,[2] who think that while Peter's love was greater and stronger, and that therefore he received a more conspicuous proof of his Master's affection, John's love was more tender, and as the virgin disciple he received evidence of more tender feeling on the part of Jesus: *licet Joannes tenerius diligeret Jesum, tamen Petrus eundem diligebat robustius et ardentius, ut patet ex omnibus ejus circa Jesum factis et dictis.* This seems to be the reason why St. John is called the beloved disciple.

When our Lord, standing by the Lake of Tiberias, commissioned Simon Peter to feed His sheep, He fulfilled the promise to build His Church on Peter and to appoint him to be its chief ruler, for He made him the supreme shepherd of the entire Church and equipped him with powers to teach and govern with authority.[3] In the beautiful parable of the Good Shepherd, Christ spoke of Himself as the good shepherd *per eminentiam,* and mentioned as the principal duties attached to the pastoral office those of feeding, guiding, and protecting the flock. Looking forward to the time after His own death and ascension Christ announced prophetically: "And other sheep I have, that are not of this fold; them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice, and there shall be one fold and one shepherd."[4]

When the "Prince of Pastors," as St. Peter[5] calls Him, was about to return to heaven He appointed Simon Peter, the chief of the apostles, to be His visible representative and to hold the pastoral office.

Feeding the flock. Our Lord defined the task allotted to St. Peter in language the symbolical meaning of which is easily comprehensible. Peter was divinely entrusted with the task of feeding and governing the flock of Christ. In the English the word "feed" is used all three times, but in the Greek the word so translated in verse 16 is not the same as in verses 15 and 17, as we shall see farther on. Peter's primary duty was to provide wholesome nourishment for the flock. St. John has

[1] Chrys. Hom. 87 in Joann.; compare Brev. octav. Joann. Ap. et Evang.
[2] e.g., Corn. à Lap.; Estius, Ann. *ad loc.*
[3] Conc. Vatic. Constit. dogm. de eccl. Christi Jesu, c. 1: *Atque uni Simoni Petro contulit Jesus post suam resurrectionem summi pastoris et rectoris jurisdictionem in totum suum ovile dicens: pasce agnos meos, pasce oves meas.*
[4] John x. 16.
[5] 1 Peter v. 4.

not left us in doubt as to the nature of the spiritual food required by Christ's flock, for he bears testimony that the Word brought the fullness of grace and truth to the world and deposited it in His Church,[1] and that mankind by belief in the same can attain to life everlasting.[2] Peter, acting as Christ's vicar in the pastoral office, has to furnish the faithful with the Messianic treasures of salvation, and give them especially the spiritual of revealed truth. But besides feeding, Peter was also to guide and govern the flock. In the threefold charge the Vulgate, like the English, has the same verb each time, but in the Greek *βόσκειν* is used in verses 15 and 17, while the verb in verse 16 is *ποιμαίνειν*, which signifies to guide, direct, as well as to feed. The alteration *βόσκειν* — *ποιμαίνειν* — *βόσκειν* — shows that in this passage we must take *ποιμαίνειν* in its secondary sense, as referring to the governing power which Peter was to exercise in his capacity as Christ's representative. Thus a double duty was assigned to him, which St. Augustine states briefly and clearly in the words: *Christus oves pascendas, hoc est, docendas regendasque committit.*

The flock entrusted to Peter. We must notice in the first instance that Jesus spoke of the sheep and lambs as *His;* thus the pastoral office conferred upon Peter is seen to be one that he was to hold as vicegerent of Christ, the Supreme Shepherd. The printed edition of the Vulgate reads *agnos,* lambs, in verses 15 and 16, and *oves,* sheep, in verse 17. The Greek, however, reads *τὰ ἀρνία*, lambs, only in verse 15; in verses 16 and 17 either *τὰ προβάτια*, little sheep, or *τὰ πρόβατα*, sheep, both readings being well supported. Also in the MSS. of the *Itala* and Vulgate there are variant readings, and St. Ambrose gives the three charges as follows: *pasce agniculos meos, pasce agnos meos, pasce oviculas meas.*[3] As St. Peter was commissioned to feed and govern Christ's sheep and lambs without exception, his pastoral office extends to the whole Church. In his famous *Consideratio*[4] addressed to Pope Eugenius III, St. Bernard of Clairvaux writes: *pasce oves meas — quas? illius vel illius populos civitatis, aut nationis, aut certi regni? Oves meas inquit. Nihil excipitur, ubi nihil distinguitur.* Since,

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[1] John i. 14.
[2] See Tisch. *ad loc.*
[3] John v. 24 *seqq.*
[4] 2, 8.

therefore, no one is exempt from the authority of Peter, it follows that his primacy extends over even his fellow apostles. The position which he occupied in the apostolic college in virtue of possessing the supreme pastoral office is defined by St. John Chrysostom thus: *Praeteriens autem Dominus alios Petro . . . loquitur; eximius enim apostolorum erat Petrus, et os discipulorum et vertex collegii; unde et negatione deleta committit ei praelationem fratrum. Et negationem quidem ei non exprobrat, sed dicit: si diligis me, praeside fratribus.*[1] There can be no doubt that the word *fratres* here denotes Peter's fellow apostles. In another place[2] the same writer paraphrases our Lord's charge to Peter thus: "Preside over thy brethren," and continues to say that the pastoral office involves the duty of presiding over his colleagues. The Pseudo-Augustine writes in precisely the same tone; he discusses the question why Jesus paid the Temple tax for Himself and Peter only,[3] and concludes by saying: *Salvator autem, cum pro se et Petro dari jubet, pro omnibus exsolvisse videtur; quia sicut in Salvatore erant omnes causa magisterii, ita et post Salvatorem in Petro omnes continentur. Ipsum autem constituit esse caput eorum, ut pastor esset gregis Dominici.*[4] The last sentence shows quite plainly that the author of the *Quaestiones* reckoned the apostles as belonging to Christ's flock, of which Simon Peter was appointed supreme shepherd. In a discourse ascribed to Eusebius, Bishop of Emisa, in Phoenicia, who probably died in 359 A.D., the *agni* and *oves* are interpreted thus: *prius agnos, deinde oves committit, quia non solum pastorem, sed pastorem pastorum eum constituit. Pascit igitur Petrus agnos, pascit et oves; pascit filios, pascit et matres; regit et subditos et praelatos, omnium igitur pastor est, quia praeter agnos et oves in ecclesia nihil est.*[5] Here we have the flock, of which Peter is shepherd, divided into the *ecclesia audiens* and *ecclesia docens;*[6] other commentators, however, think that the lambs are the beginners and the sheep those further advanced in the faith; or that the lambs are imperfect, the sheep perfect;[7] while others again attach no particular signifi-

[1] Hom. in Joann. 37.
[2] Hom. 88, 1 in Joann., προίστασο τῶν ἀδελφῶν — προστασία τῶν ἀδελφῶν.
[3] Matthew xvii. 23–26.
[4] Quaest. 75 ex N. T.
[5] Serm. de nativ. Joannis evang.
[6] So also Bellarmine, Jansen, and others.
[7] Lyranus, Menochius, and others.

cance to the change in the noun.[1] The meaning of our Lord's utterance is by no means affected by the interpretation given to the words "sheep" and "lambs." We may regard them as denoting the same people, or we may assign a particular meaning to each, but in either case the sense of the passage is that Peter was appointed supreme shepherd over the entire flock of Christ.

On the day of the Resurrection all the apostles received power to forgive sins, and later on, in Galilee, all were supplied with apostolic authority, but Peter alone was made shepherd of Christ's whole flock, and the other apostles received later their commission to act as shepherds, and they received it collectively and in conjunction with Peter. Hence it follows that, although the other apostles were true shepherds, Peter was the chief shepherd appointed by Christ Himself, and the others were shepherds only in union with, and in subordination to, Peter.

That the Fathers regarded Peter's pastoral office as a genuine primacy is clear from their remarks concerning the object for which this office was conferred upon him. Before our Saviour appointed Peter to be chief shepherd, He stated that His object was to preserve the unity of His flock, — "there shall be one fold and one shepherd."[2] The Fathers declare emphatically that Peter was made head of the apostolic band and chief shepherd of the Church in order that the unity of the Church might be maintained and manifested. St. Jerome says in general terms: *proterea inter duodecim unus eligitur, ut capite constituto schismatis tollatur occasio.*[3] In his work on the unity of the Catholic Church St. Cyprian writes that Christ conferred the pastoral office and the power of the keys upon Peter *ut unitatem manifestaret, unam cathedram constituit et unitatis ejusdem originem ab uno incipientem sua auctoritate disposuit. Primatus Petro datur, ut una Christi ecclesia et cathedra una monstretur.*[4] It is true that particularly in the fourth chapter of St. Cyprian's work there are a few passages which do not occur in all the manuscripts, but, as Döllinger points out, it does not matter if single passages are later interpolations, since the work as a whole is permeated with the idea of the unity of the Church, this unity being the result of St. Peter's office. Even if the passages in question were not in the original text, they are certainly expansions of its obvious meaning. St. Augustine agrees

[1] Maldonatus, De la Haye, Calmet, and others.
[2] John x. 16.
[3] Adv. Jovin. 1, 26.
[4] C. 4.

with St. Cyprian, and writes: *in ipso Petro unitatem commendavit. Multi erant apostoli, et uni dicitur: pasce oves meas.*[1] St. Leo the Great speaks of Peter as representing the unity of the entire Church of Christ: *Hujus enim muneris sacramentum ita Dominus ad omnium apostolorum officium pertinere voluit, ut in beato Petro apostolorum omnium summo principaliter collocaret et ab ipso quasi quodam capite dona sua velit in corpus omne manare, ut exsortem se mysterii intelligeret esse divini, qui ausus fuerit a Petri soliditate recedere.*[2]

The natural conclusion at which we arrive after reading the above quotations from the Fathers, is that Simon Peter was appointed shepherd of Christ's flock, in order that thus the unity of the Church might be manifested and preserved; consequently his office must have been that of chief shepherd, and all the other apostles, though they were also shepherds, were subordinate to him.

According to Protestant scholars, all that took place by the Lake of Tiberius was merely the restoration of Peter to his position as an apostle, for he had temporarily forfeited this honor by his threefold denial. The advocates of this theory try to strengthen it by pointing out that Jesus asked Peter three times whether he loved Him. St. Cyril suggests a restoration of the apostolate to Peter, both in his exposition of this passage and in his discussion of the charge given to the apostle by Christ: *et tu aliquando conversus confirma fratres.* In commenting on the latter passage, he remarks: *admirare igitur exuberantiam divina patientiae; ne diffidere discipulum faceret, nondum patrato crimine largitus est veniam ac iterum ipsum in apostolico gradu restituit dicens: confirma fratres tuos.* Adalbert Maier too seems to think that Peter first lost and then recovered the primacy, for he says that Christ "renewed" Peter's apostolic vocation on the condition that he loved Him, and that the commission to feed Christ's flock should be regarded as a "renewal" of that exalted dignity previously conferred on Peter (Matthew xvi. 18). On the other hand, the fact that our Lord questioned Peter three times does not appear to be an adequate reason for adopting this theory, and even some Protestant commentators have hesitated to accept it. There is nothing in what took place after St. Peter's denial to suggest in any way that he forfeited his position even for a time; in fact the evidence tends to show that he never ceased to be an apostle. Mary Magdalen carried the news that the sepulchre was empty to Peter and the other disciple,[3] Peter played the chief part when he and John visited the tomb,[4] and the women were sent by the angel to convey our Lord's message to the apostles "and to Peter."[5] On the occasion of the miraculous draught of fishes this apostle was unmistakably the leader of the other disciples.[6] Quite apart from the fact that the apostles did not receive full

[1] Sermo 46.
[2] Ad episc. Vienn. ep. 10.
[3] John xx. 2.
[4] John xx. 6.
[5] Mark xvi. 7.
[6] John xxi. 1.

authority until after the Resurrection, Peter, if he had ever really lost his apostolic office in consequence of his denial, would have recovered it on the evening of Easter Sunday, since he, like all the rest, then received power to forgive sins.[1]

Our exegetical discussion of St. Peter's pastoral office and of the remarks made by the Fathers regarding the nature, significance, and aim of this office, has enabled us to arrive at the following conclusions: Simon Peter, being the representative of Christ, the Supreme Shepherd, received the chief pastoral office; it was his task to feed and guide, i.e., to teach and govern, the whole of Christ's flock, without any exception. The duty thus laid upon him carries with it the prerogative of holding the supreme teaching office and authority to rule over all others. Authority to teach and govern is expressed briefly in the word primacy; hence we may say that the manner in which Peter was repeatedly singled out for mention indicated the primacy which was definitely promised him by Christ after the apostle's solemn profession of faith, and was actually conferred upon Peter near the Lake of Tiberias, when he received the commission to feed and guide Christ's flock.

XIII. The Bestowal of Authority on the Apostles

Matthew xxviii. 16–20

16. And the eleven disciples went into Galilee, unto the mountain where Jesus had appointed them.
17. And seeing him they adored: but some doubted.
18. And Jesus coming, spoke to them, saying: All power is given to me in heaven and in earth.
19. Going therefore teach ye all nations: baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.
20. Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and behold I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world.

1 Cor. xv. 6

6. Then was he seen by more than five hundred brethren at once: of whom many remain until this present, and some are fallen asleep.

It was in Galilee that Jesus began His public ministry and spent most of His life; there He called His apostles and sent

[1] John xx. 21–23.

them forth on their first missionary journey, and they seem to have been all Galileans by birth, with the exception of Judas Iscariot. In Galilee they gradually attained to a fuller knowledge of their Master's personality and a deeper comprehension of His Messianic work. This part of Palestine was remote from the centre of Judaism, and after His resurrection our Saviour assembled His disciples there, intending thence to send them forth to preach the gospel to all mankind. Before His death He had foretold that they should see Him in Galilee,[1] and after His resurrection He bade them repair thither.[2] St. Matthew, alone of the evangelists, records our Lord's meeting the eleven apostles on the mountain in Galilee, and the bestowal upon them of the full apostolic authority.

St. Paul mentions an occasion on which our risen Lord was seen by five hundred disciples at once. Whether this was in Galilee or not will be discussed at the end of the present section. Later on we shall deal with the further question why St. Matthew's account ought probably not to be identified with the somewhat similar one in St. Mark.

We have seen in a previous chapter that the apostles did not leave Jerusalem for Galilee until after the octave day of the Pasch. St. Matthew tells us that our Lord appeared to the eleven on a mountain in Galilee, whither they had gone in obedience to His orders. The evangelist does not state when and where these orders were issued, nor how the apostles learned that they were to go to "the," i.e. some previously appointed, mountain. This information was probably given them on one or other of the two occasions when our Lord appeared to them in Jerusalem, appearances which are not mentioned by St. Matthew, who seems to take for granted that his readers were aware of them.

Many commentators think that our Lord appeared on Mount Thabor, which, according to a tradition dating from the fourth century, was the scene of the Transfiguration. It is situated about six miles to the southeast of Nazareth, is over 1900 feet high, and rises about 1300 feet above the hills in the neighborhood, so that it commands an extensive and beautiful view. The summit has been levelled and surrounded with a wall, within which stand a Latin and a Greek monastery. There is a close connection between what took place at our Lord's Transfiguration and at His appearance after the resurrection. At His transfiguration, when His Messianic activity was near its close, a voice from heaven proclaimed Him to be the lawgiver for mankind. After His resurrection our Saviour appeared in glory to equip

[1] Mark xiv. 28.

[2] Matthew xxviii. 7, 10.

His apostles with Messianic authority, and commission them to preach the gospel of salvation to the whole world. According to B. Weiss the Mount of the Beatitudes is actually indicated as that on which Jesus appeared in Galilee. He connects οὗ with ἐτάξατο and explains the passage as meaning "the mountain where Jesus had pronounced the injunctions contained in the Sermon on the Mount." Most scholars, however, connect our Lord's command to the apostles to go to Galilee with His resurrection, and, if this be correct, Weiss's interpretation is not in harmony with the situation.

The apostles were privileged to see their Master on this mountain. St. Matthew describes His appearance and its immediate effect upon them in the words, "Seeing him they adored, but some doubted." The verb "to adore" must not be taken here in the wider sense of showing reverence by falling prostrate, but in its literal signification; they worshipped Jesus as Son of God, and as God, for His resurrection was the most evident proof of His divinity.[1] There are difficulties involved in the statement that some doubted. Who doubted? and what was the nature of their doubts? Those commentators who assume that only the apostles were present when Jesus appeared on the mountain in Galilee are forced to admit that some of the eleven were still unconvinced. Many think that the evangelist's words refer to doubts that the apostles had formerly entertained but had now abandoned;[2] others maintain that the doubt felt by the apostles concerned, not the fact of Christ's resurrection, but the identity with their risen Saviour of Him whom they now beheld.[3] St. Matthew's statement that Jesus then approached the disciples supplies this interpretation with some amount of probability. On the other hand, all who believe that the "five hundred brethren" mentioned by St. Paul[4] were present as well as the eleven apostles, think that the doubters belonged to the number of disciples in the wider sense.

Our Lord bestows Messianic authority upon the apostles. An all-important incident now occurred. The apostles had been called just two years earlier and since that time had been trained for the work which was to be entrusted to them; now they were appointed to be our Lord's representatives, were equipped with full Messianic authority and commissioned to preach salvation

[1] Rom. i. 4.
[2] Estius, Tirinus, and Jansenius.
[3] Menochius, Lamy, Jansenius (to some extent), Knabenbauer, and others.
[4] 1 Cor. xv. 6.

to all nations. Coming close to them, Jesus said solemnly, "All power is given to me in heaven and in earth." Commentators[1] point out that "power" here does not mean divine omnipotence, but is used in a special way to denote our Divine Redeemer's Messianic authority, through which men are delivered from the bondage of sin, transferred to a state of freedom, sanctified as children of God, and brought to the bliss and glory of heaven.[2] This power has been "given" to Jesus, i.e., He possesses it because He, being the Son of God, became Man, and because He, as our Redeemer, through shedding His blood, purchased mankind for His own possession.[3] To Christ was given *all* power in heaven and in earth; that is to say He possesses the sum-total of all Messianic authority, because He alone is Redeemer, Founder, Preserver, Ruler, and Protector of the Messianic kingdom, wherein the human race is sanctified and blessed. Christ's Messianic power extends to heaven, because He has gone before to open to the redeemed the gates of heaven,[4] which had been closed to man in consequence of his fall into sin. In heaven Christ has prepared a dwelling for His people;[5] from heaven He sends forth the Holy Ghost, and He will gather thither all the faithful in the Church triumphant.

Because Christ, being the Redeemer of all mankind, possesses Messianic power in all its fullness, the apostolic authority bestowed upon the apostles and their successors as Christ's representatives on earth is the outcome of the power possessed by our divine Redeemer. The intimate connection between the authority of the apostles and our Lord's Messianic power is expressed in the Greek by the inferential particle οὖν, *igitur*, which connects the commission to the apostles with the preceding words. The whole world was assigned to them as the sphere of their activity; their task was to convert mankind and, by means of baptism, to make men members of the Church; and, further, they were to teach the faithful so that they might become more and more

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[1] e.g., Maldonatus, Estius, and Jansenius.

[2] Estius remarks: *potestas, quae respicit salutem animarum.*

[3] 1 Cor. vi. 20; 1 Peter i. 18. On the subject of this power and when it was given to Christ, Maldonatus says: *non de ea loquitur potestate, quam ut Deus, nec de ea, quam ut homo, sed de ea, quam ut redemptor hominum habet, quam per mortem et resurrectionem sibi comparaverat.*

[4] Rom. v. 2.

[5] John xiv. 2.

perfect, and finally attain to salvation. Jesus, the Messiah promised to the Jews, is the Saviour of all men; and although He limited His own ministry to the Holy Land, He taught most emphatically that His gospel was intended for the entire human race in every age. The Jews, being by birth citizens of the Messianic kingdom, had the first claim to the benefits of salvation, but they were not alone entitled to them. On the contrary, the Messiah Himself foretold the rejection of the Jews on account of their unbelief, and the call of the Gentiles throughout the world to participate in the Messianic blessing.[1] When the apostles were sent out on their first missionary journey, they had been forbidden to preach beyond the confines of Palestine,[2] but on this second occasion they were ordered to go forth into the whole world and offer to all nations the Messianic salvation. Just before His ascension our Lord pointed out still more precisely the way in which the apostles were to accomplish their mission, and said: "You shall be witnesses unto me in Jerusalem and in all Judea and Samaria, and even to the uttermost part of the earth."[3]

Baptism to be administered by the apostles. "Going therefore teach ye all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." By means of baptism the apostles were to make men disciples of Christ and members of His Church. The Greek word rendered in the Vulgate by *docete,* teach, is μαθητεύσατε: make (them) disciples, viz., by means of baptism, as our Saviour proceeded to explain.

On this occasion our Lord gave no special instructions as to the manner in which baptism was to be administered, and they would have been superfluous for several reasons. His disciples had not only been eyewitnesses of John's administration of baptism, but they had actually baptized for some time when they were with John in Judea.[4] There is nothing in the gospels to suggest that there was externally any difference in the two cases, in fact we may safely assume that there was none. Baptism as instituted by Christ differed not in the outward action from the rite performed by His forerunner, but differed in the words that accompanied the action and the effect produced. The apostles had been already instructed to some extent on these two points, but now their instruction was more explicit. Jesus now spoke of discipleship, membership of His Church, as an effect produced by the baptism that He prescribed, but His followers had already

[1] Matthew vii. 11, 12.
[2] Compare John iii. *22 seqq.*, with iv. 2.
[3] Matthew x. 5.
[4] Acts i. 8.

been taught the spiritual results of Christian baptism. John the Baptist had testified on two distinct occasions that Jesus, being the Messiah, would baptize with the Holy Ghost and with fire,[1] and our Lord not only accepted this testimony with approval,[2] but, in speaking of Nicodemus, stated clearly the manner and effect of this spiritual baptism in the words: "Amen, amen, I say to thee, unless a man be born again of water and the Holy Ghost, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God"[3] (i.e., he cannot enter, or become a member of, the Church of Christ). In the next verse He explained the necessity and nature of this re-birth, and added: "That which is born of the flesh is flesh; and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit."

Baptism, as instituted by Christ, has to be administered: in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. According to Biblical usage, the name of God or of Christ means all that God the Father or Christ is for men, and all that men, in consequence of divine revelation, recognize as God, and desire to express by His name. Thus to be baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost means that baptism, as prescribed by Christ, brings us into the closest spiritual connection with the Most Holy Trinity, pledges us to acknowledge the Trinity, and makes us participate in the redemption, ordained by God the Father from all eternity, accomplished in time by the incarnate Son of God, and rendered accessible to each individual through the Holy Ghost sent forth from the Father and the Son. An obvious deduction is that the act of baptism must be performed while the name of the Trinity is uttered. The Church has set this interpretation upon our Lord's words, and has invariably regarded this formula as essential and necessary to the validity of the sacrament. We learn from the *Doctrina duodecim apostolorum*[4] that the invocation of the Trinity was always considered the indispensable formula for the administration of baptism. Many commentators regard our Lord's words as a direct order to invoke the Trinity at the administration of this sacrament: *baptizare in nomine, seu in nomen, hoc est, invocato nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti.*[5]

There can be no doubt that the Sacrament of Baptism was instituted by Jesus Christ, but theologians differ as to the date of its institution. In all

[1] Compare Matthew iii. 11; Mark i. 8; Luke iii. 16; John i. 33.
[2] Acts i. 5.
[3] John iii. 5.
[4] c. 7. *ταῦτα πάντα προείποντες βαπτίσατε εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐν ὕδατι ζῶντι.* Compare Just. Apol. I. 61.
[5] Corn. à Lap., *ad loc.*; compare Maldonatus.

probability our Saviour instituted the sacrament about three weeks after His resurrection, when, having assembled His apostles on a mountain in Galilee, He sent them forth to baptize all nations. There are several arguments in support of this theory. As the redemption accomplished by Christ on the cross is communicated to each individual at his baptism, it seems very likely that this sacrament was not instituted until after our Lord's death. The disciples were not instructed as to the form of its administration until, being on the mountain in Galilee, their glorified Saviour commissioned them to go forth and baptize. The period between the Resurrection and the Ascension has always been called the season of mysteries, because it was then that our Lord instituted the mysteries of salvation. It is improbable that Christ instituted baptism before choosing the apostles to administer it; hence we can scarcely regard His own baptism in the Jordan, or His conversation with Nicodemus, or the baptism of His disciples in Judea at the beginning of His public ministry, as the occasion when the sacrament was instituted. It is better to regard all these occurrences as preliminary to its institution. Even when our Lord Himself baptized the apostles at an earlier date, we may consider their baptism as an application by anticipation of the merits of Christ's redemption, limited to the narrowest circle of His followers, and we must distinguish between this baptism and the institution of the sacrament, which was to communicate to all mankind the redemption accomplished by Christ. Anabaptists consider the baptism of infants to be wrong and invalid for the reason that Jesus commissioned the apostles to teach before baptizing; but this argument has no weight, for, according to the words of Holy Scripture, they were ordered by baptism to make men Christ's disciples and members of His Church. Whether or not an instruction must precede baptism depends therefore upon the subjective condition of the individual to be baptized.

In the Acts of the Apostles we frequently hear of baptism in the name of Jesus Christ, or in the name of the Lord Jesus.[1] The question has been raised whether the apostles, in administering baptism, baptized simply in the name of Jesus Christ, and, if so, whether their baptism was valid. Some theologians think that the apostles, in virtue of some special permission, used the formula: "I baptize thee in the name of Jesus Christ": *ut nomen Jesu Christi, quod erat odiosum Judaeis et gentilibus, honorabile redderetur per hoc, quod ad ejus invocationem Spiritus sanctus dabatur in baptismo.*[2] It seems more probable that this expression simply serves to distinguish the sacrament instituted by Christ from the rite administered by St. John, and that the Trinity was always invoked by the apostles when they baptized.

Whoever has been made by baptism a member of the Church, must also live in accordance with the true faith, if he is to be saved. Our Lord taught this important truth in many different ways, of which it will be enough to quote two instances. In the Sermon on the Mount He solemnly admonished His hearers and said: "Not every one that saith to me: Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that doth the will of my Father who is in heaven."[3] God's will is made known in

[1] Acts ii. 18; viii. 12, 16; x. 48; xix. 5.
[2] Thomas Aquinas.
[3] Matthew vii. 21.

the commandments proclaimed by Jesus Christ. In the parable with which the Sermon on the Mount concludes,[1] our Saviour pointed out the great advantage of practising His doctrine in every-day life, and the utter ruin that is certain to overtake those who neglect to do so. When He commissioned the apostles to act as His representatives on earth, He charged them to guide and rule all nations, and to teach them to observe all things whatsoever He had commanded. Therefore, according to Christ's own doctrine, if the faithful are to be saved, they must obey His commandments, in addition to baptism and the faith. Many of the Fathers lay great stress on the word *all* in the phrase "*all* things whatsoever I have commanded you." A Christian is not free to pick and choose which commandments he will observe, and which he will neglect; *all* things commanded by Christ have the force of His authority. To the apostles this commission was equivalent to a direct charge to order everything in the spirit of Christ, so as to promote the fulfillment of His commandments. First and foremost it was their duty to expound the commandments of God, but this was not the whole of their task; they were required to teach by means of example, to admonish, to warn, to recall those who had gone astray, and to decide how transgressors might be reconciled with the Church.

A glorious promise was connected with the commission given to the apostles; our Lord declared that He would be with them all days, even to the consummation of the world. The use of the word "behold" as an introduction to this promise marks it as peculiarly important. It was uttered at a time when Jesus was with the apostles only occasionally and for brief periods; moreover, He was about to return forever to heaven, and yet He promised to abide perpetually with them. There can be no doubt that the teaching which they had already received enabled them to understand our Lord's meanng. When sending them out on their first missionary journey, He assured them that in preaching and defending the gospel the Holy Spirit would speak through their lips.[2] In the long farewell discourse pronounced in the cenaculum at Jerusalem, just before His Passion, our divine Lord promised His disciples "another Paraclete," who should abide with them forever, strengthening and consoling

[1] Matthew vii. 24–29.

[2] Matthew x. 20.

them, and bringing them to a full comprehension of His doctrine.[1] Thus our Lord's words here must be understood as referring to the continual and uninterrupted assistance of the Holy Ghost. The concluding words, "even to the consummation of the world," show that Jesus made the promise, not to the apostles as individuals, but also to their successors in the apostolic office.

Finally we have to consider whether our Lord's appearance on a mountain in Galilee may be identified with His appearance to more than five hundred brethren, which St. Paul mentions.[2] Many early commentators identify the two occasions,[3] and also of more recent writers some are inclined to consider their identity as at least probable, but the majority[4] express themselves more or less decidedly against it. Those who reject it point out that St. Matthew speaks only of the apostles, and therefore we must believe that Jesus appeared exclusively to them. This argument has weight, but is not conclusive, for with equal justice commentators might maintain, as some actually do, that our Lord appeared twice only after His resurrection, since St. Matthew records only two appearances. Those who identify the two occasions argue thus: Our Lord's appearance to the five hundred disciples must be regarded as peculiarly solemn, and it is very probable that it occurred on the occasion and at the place which Jesus had repeatedly announced to His apostles. If this were the case, we could easily account for the presence of almost all our Lord's followers in Galilee at the same time and place. Moreover, it seems very likely that the faithful in Galilee witnessed the bestowal of apostolic authority upon the eleven. St. Peter's speech at the election of Matthias to fill up the number of the apostolic band indicates that, when Christ appeared on the mountain in Galilee, others were present besides the eleven, for he mentions Joseph, also called Barsabas, and Matthias. It is, however, impossible to settle the matter with absolute certainty.

XIV. Christ Appears to the Apostles in Jerusalem on the Day of His Ascension

Mark xv. 14

14. At length he appeared to the eleven as they were at table: and he upbraided them with their incredulity and hardness of heart, because they did not believe them who had seen him after he was risen again.

Luke xxiv. 44

44. And he said to them: These are written in the law of Moses, and while I was yet with you, and all things must needs be fulfilled, which are written in the law of Moses, and in the prophets, and in the psalms, concerning me.

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[1] John xiv. 16 *seqq.*

[2] 1 Cor. xv. 6.

[3] e.g., Lyranus, Cajetan, Baronius, Estius, Corn. à Lap., Tirinus, Lamy, and Jansenius.

[4] Among Catholic writers who reject the identity is Cornely, who says: *parum recte nonnulli (!) illam intelligere volunt, quae Matth. xxviii. 16 sq. narratur.* Knabenbauer holds it as *res incerta.*

MARK xv. 15–18

15. And he said to them: Go ye into the whole world, and preach the gospel to every creature.

16. He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved: but he that believeth not shall be condemned.

17. And these signs shall follow them that believe: In my name they shall cast out devils: they shall speak with new tongues.

18. They shall take up serpents; and if they shall drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them: they shall lay their hands upon the sick, and they shall recover.

LUKE xxiv. 45–49

45. Then he opened their understanding, that they might understand the scriptures.

46. And he said to them: Thus it is written, and thus it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise again from the dead the third day.

47. And that penance and the remission of sins should be preached in his name unto all nations, beginning at Jerusalem.

48. And you are witnesses of these things.

49. And I send the promise of my Father upon you: but stay you in the city, till you be endued with power from on high.

Chronological and harmonistic difficulties. Ever since the time of St. Augustine opinions have been divided as to the place that this episode should occupy in the history of our Lord's presence on earth after His resurrection. There are also divergent opinions regarding the whole passage in St. Mark; some think that the evangelist is speaking of one occurrence, others believe him to be describing two distinct events. Some commentators, both ancient and modern, consider Mark xvi. 14 to be parallel *either* with Luke xiv. 36–43 and John xx. 19–23 *or* with John xx. 24–29. According to the second of these two theories, Mark xvi. 14 refers to Christ's appearance on the octave day of the resurrection, when Thomas was present;[1] according to the first, St. Mark is referring to our Lord's appearance late in the evening of Easter Sunday.[2] A serious difficulty presents itself when we take Mark xvi. 14 as parallel with Luke xxiv. 36–43 and John xx. 19–23. St. Mark says that Jesus appeared to the eleven, whereas St. John tells us that Thomas was absent when our Lord appeared on Easter Sunday. Some commentators try to remove the difficulty by assuming that the apostles were called collectively "the Eleven," although they may not all have been present on any given occasion.[3] This is true of the expression "the Twelve," but not of "the eleven." By using the latter term instead of the former, the evangelists showed plainly that they were alluding to the actual number of members in the apostolic band. St. Augustine discussed this passage very thoroughly,[4] and admits that it would be an arbitrary assumption to think that "the eleven" denoted the apostles in a general way, without reference to their precise number. Several commentators consider Mark xvi. 15–18 parallel to Matthew xxviii. 16–20. From the exegetical standpoint there is no objection to believing that two distinct events are recorded in Mark xvi. 14–18; in fact, the brief and condensed statement with which this gospel concludes may be taken as supporting this theory, and yet, to divide the narrative into two parts does not seem a satisfactory solu-

[1] Mald., Jansenius (jun.): *longe verius est, Marcum respicere eandem apparitionem quam narrant Luc. xxiv.* 36; *Joann. xx.* 19, *sqq.*

[2] Corn. à Lap., Knabenbauer: *Satis habet probabilitatis.*

[3] Laurent and Knabenb.

[4] De cons. evang. 3, 75, 76.

tion of the difficulty. The same remark applies to the attempt to treat Mark xiv. 15–18 (or 14–18) and Matthew xxvi. 16–20 as parallel passages. It appears better to take Mark xvi. 14–18 as one consecutive narrative, recording what took place on the day of our Lord's ascension, when He appeared for the last time to the apostles in Jerusalem. This agrees with the opinion expressed by St. Augustine,[1] St. Gregory the Great,[2] St. Bede,[3] Patrizi,[4] Cornely,[5] and Hengstenberg (who, however, excepts Mark xvi. 14), and it gains support from the word ὕστερον, which introduces the whole section, and is rendered accurately by *novissime* (i.e., *postremo*) in the Vulgate translation.[6] Thus the evangelist tells us that this was our Lord's last appearance, and his manner of connecting the Ascension with this narrative[7] implies that in all probability it occurred immediately after this appearance, while Christ's discourse, as recorded by St. Mark, apparently was pronounced after that recorded by St. Matthew. In St. Mark's account the command to baptize is taken for granted, as already issued, while stress is laid upon the necessity of carrying out with exactitude the instruction previously given. In St. Matthew's gospel we read that Jesus promised to abide with the apostles even to the consummation of the world, whereas in St. Mark's we read of the wonderful results that their faith will produce in believers.

Elucidation of the text. When Jesus appeared for the last time to the apostles, they were seated at table. This last appearance took place at Jerusalem on the day of our Lord's ascension, and there is good reason for supposing that the apostles were assembled in the cenaculum. Jesus began by rebuking them for their incredulity and for refusing to believe persons who had been eyewitnesses of His resurrection. That Christ should thus rebuke the apostles during the last moments of His sojourn on earth seems strange, but nevertheless the reproof should fill us with confidence. We, who live at a later period and cannot see our risen Saviour with our bodily eyes, may learn from this episode that even the apostles attained to full faith in the Resurrection only with difficulty, and that our Lord did everything in His power to convince them of its reality, so that we may safely accept their testimony with regard to it.

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[1] *l. c.*
[2] Hom. 29 in evang.
[3] Ad Marc. xvi. 14.
[4] Comm. ad Marc. xvi. 14.
[5] Curs. sacr. script. 3, 302.
[6] It appears rash to assert that ὕστερον invariably means *postea*, afterwards, and never *postremo*, finally. It is hardly possible to deny that ὕστερον may mean *postremo* in Matthew xxi. 37; xxv. 11–xxvi. 60. It is interesting to notice that in all these places the Vulgate reads *novissime*, as it does in Mark xvi. 14, whereas elsewhere (Matthew iv. 2; xxi. 29, 32; John xiii. 36) ὕστερον is rendered by *postea*.
[7] Mark xvi. 19.

Our Saviour then repeated the command that He had already given, and ordered them to preach the gospel to every creature, enumerating, as a reason for the command, the wonderful effects of faith. His words "He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved" contain a reference to the previous commission to baptize, and at the same time indicate the necessity of baptism, since faith and baptism are essential to salvation. The context shows that Jesus had only adults in view when He spoke, for they, being capable of understanding the gospel, must have faith before they can receive baptism. We cannot, however, infer from this passage that none should be baptized who have not reached years of discretion. Because our Lord mentioned the conditions absolutely necessary to salvation, we must not assume that there are not additional conditions imposed upon those who would attain it. As we saw in the previous section, the observance of God's commandments, i.e., a life in harmony with the Christian religion, is no less essential to salvation than are faith and baptism: *tunc veraciter fideles sumus, cum, quod verbis promittimus, operibus complemus.*[1] On the other hand, those who refuse to believe are threatened with eternal damnation.

On the mountain in Galilee Jesus encouraged the apostles to carry out His commission by promising to abide with them forever; now He gave another source for encouragement by pointing out the wonderful results to be produced by the gospel that they were to preach, and men were to receive. When the apostles went forth on their first missionary journey,[2] they were endowed with power to work miracles, in order that thus they might be able to prove themselves divinely commissioned, and so be in a better position to win the hearts of men to the truth which they were to preach. Now they were to equip the faithful with peculiar graces, as a visible evidence of the divinity of the truth that they had accepted with the faith. There was nothing new in this promise, as, during His ministry in Galilee, our Lord had already spoken of the all-powerful effects of faith.[3] He promised that the faithful should work miracles "in His name." This expression has been interpreted in various

[1] St. Greg. the Great, Hom. 29 in evang.
[2] Matthew x. 1. [3] Matthew xvii. 19.

ways; some think that it refers to working miracles by the invocation and utterance of the name of Christ, but this explanation is quite inadequate. The true sense of the passage seems to be that firm faith in Christ the Redeemer, and especially in His miraculous powers, and also undoubting confidence that this faith confers miraculous powers upon His disciples, will actually enable men to work miracles. Such faith would naturally find expression in the invocation and utterance of the name of Jesus.

By way of illustration, our Lord proceeded to mention five kinds of miracles that the faithful would be able to work, viz., casting out devils, speaking with new tongues, taking up serpents with impunity, drinking poison without fatal results, and curing the sick by the laying on of hands.

In the Acts of the Apostles there are instances of the first and last of these miracles.[1]

The promise that the faithful should speak with new tongues was fulfilled at Pentecost,[2] and there is abundant evidence to show that in the apostolic age the faithful possessed this gift of the Holy Ghost.[3] When St. Paul suffered no injury from the bite of a viper[4] the third promise was literally fulfilled; but probably both here and when our Lord said that He had given His disciples power to tread upon serpents and scorpions,[5] we ought not to limit ourselves to the literal meaning, but should understand the word "serpents" as a symbolical term denoting the powers of evil and the dangers arising therefrom. This symbolical interpretation finds justification in Holy Scripture[6] as well as in the works of the earliest Christian writers and in ancient art.[7] Christ's words are to be understood as a promise that the devil will have no power at all over the faithful, who will be able not only to resist him, but also to protect and guard their fellow creatures against his assaults. In support of this symbolical interpretation we may point out that our Saviour, in speaking of the miracles which the faithful should work in His name, called them *signs*. Now this word is especially used to designate miracles in which the outward and visible action is a symbol of some higher, supernatural truth. Our Lord Himself assigned a symbolical meaning of this kind to a miracle, when He declared that, by miraculously multiplying the loaves of bread, He was recognized by God the Father as the Giver of the true bread from heaven. According to tradition our Lord's promise that the faithful should be able to drink poison with impunity was also fulfilled in the time of the apostles. St. Augustine[8] and St. Isidore of Seville[9] both tell us that a cup of poisoned wine was

[1] For instance: iii. 6, v. 16, viii. 7, 8.
[2] Acts ii. 1.
[3] Acts x. 46; xix. 6; 1 Cor. xiv. 1.
[4] Luke x. 19.
[5] Gen. iii. 1; Apoc. xii. 9; xx. 2.
[6] Melito of Sardes: *serpentes* (*sc. sunt*) *diaboli vel homines impii.*
[7] Compare John vi. 27.
[8] Soliloq. 22.
[9] De ortu et obitu patrum . . . c. 74.

once given to St. John, the Evangelist, who drank it unharmed. This apostle is frequently represented holding a chalice, which has often been understood to mean this cup of poison.

Some commentators assign a different interpretation to Luke xxiv. 44–49, and think that it is the record of an instruction given by Christ on the evening of Easter Sunday, so that Luke xxiv. 39–49 is one connected paragraph. This theory derives a certain amount of support from the substance of the first part of the instruction, and particularly from verse 46, which seems to be closely connected with the conversation between our Lord and the two disciples on the way to Emmaus. The fact that the instruction is introduced by the words εἶπεν δέ is also supposed to indicate that verses 44–49 follow immediately upon verses 36–43 in order of time. Schanz, Knabenbauer, and Keil, however, rightly point out that elsewhere εἶπεν δέ does not indicate any connection in time with what has gone before, and therefore from the linguistic point of view it is quite possible to assume a considerable interval between verse 43 and verse 44. It seems better to follow Tischendorf and Westcott-Hort, who in their text-editions of St. Luke's gospel print xxiv. 44–49 as a distinct paragraph, unconnected with the preceding section. It should be regarded as a discourse pronounced by our Saviour just before His ascension, and not as the evangelist's summary of all the instructions, commissions, and promises given by our Lord during the time between His resurrection and ascension.

The apostles were thoroughly convinced of the truth of their Master's resurrection, but the subject had to be brought forward once more, because they were to make known to the world the doctrine of the crucified Redeemer, which doctrine was a stumbling-block to the Jews and foolishness to the Gentiles.[1] Our Saviour reminded the apostles how often He had spoken of His approaching Passion, Death, and Resurrection, and had pointed out that, in accordance with the divine scheme for men's salvation revealed in the Old Testament, it was necessary for Him to die and then to rise in glory.[2] The Jews divided the canonical books of the Old Testament into three classes, viz., the books of Moses (Thora), those of the prophets (Nebiim), and those of other sacred writers (Ketubim). Of the last class the book of Psalms was frequently regarded as the representative, because it contains most references to the Messiah. We see in verse 44 that our Lord adopted this classification. He used the words "while I was yet with you" to designate the time before the Passion, when He was in constant intercourse with the apostles, whereas after the Resurrection He appeared only for short periods. He alluded to the fact that the prophets had foretold, and types had foreshadowed, His Passion and His

[1] 1 Cor. i. 23. [2] Matthew xvi. 21; xvii. 21; xx. 17; xxvi. 56.

Glory, and reminded the apostles that He had Himself often spoken on these subjects, but He did more than this, for "He opened their understanding, that they might understand the scriptures," and enlightened their minds by His grace, *nam scripturarum intelligentia est donum Spiritus sancti.*[1] He told them explicitly why He bestowed on them this light of understanding; it was in order that (1) they might recognize in His passion and resurrection a fulfillment of prophecy; (2) that they might know what duty was laid upon them according to Holy Scripture, for the salvation of all nations, and (3) that they might perceive with certainty where, in accordance with Holy Scripture, their activity was to begin, and at what point they were to devote themselves to the conversion of the Gentiles.

The task which, according to the Scriptures, the apostles had to perform was described by Christ thus: penance and the remission of sins should be preached in His name unto all nations. We have already seen that the Name of Christ, or Name of Jesus, implied all that Christ is to men, and all that they should recognize Him to be. The context of this particular passage shows that the Name of Jesus refers here to His Passion, Death, and Resurrection, whereby He revealed Himself as the Redeemer of mankind, and paid the ransom. Viewed in this light the expression "to preach penance and the remission of sins in His name" is seen to be equivalent to (1) a call to the nations to do penance, with reference to Christ as their Redeemer and to His work of Redemption; (2) a proclamation of the glad tidings that they, by means of true penance and loyal adherence to Christ, might obtain forgiveness of sins as a fruit of His grace of redemption. This is why at Pentecost St. Peter called upon his hearers to do penance and be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins, and added, "And you shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost."[2] Salvation was to be preached first in Jerusalem, for Isaias had said, "The law shall come forth from Sion, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem."[3] As the Passion and Resurrection of Christ were of fundamental importance in the work of salvation, the apostles were specially commissioned to bear testimony to them.

Our Lord concluded His instruction by promising the Holy

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[1] Jansenius, *ad loc.* [2] Acts ii. 38. [3] Isa. ii. 3.

Spirit. He called the Holy Spirit "the promise of my Father" because God the Father had repeatedly promised through the prophets that the Holy Ghost should be outpoured when the Messiah came.[1] Finally, the apostles were charged to remain in Jerusalem until they had received the Holy Ghost, who would endue them with power from on high.

[1] Compare Joel ii. 28; Isa. xlv. 3–5.

SECTION II

THE ASCENSION OF CHRIST INTO HEAVEN

MARK xvi. 19, 20

19. And the Lord Jesus, after he had spoken to them, was taken up into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God.

20. But they going forth, preached everywhere: the Lord working withal, and confirming the word with signs that followed.

LUKE xxiv. 50–53

50. And he led them out as far as Bethania: and lifting up his hands, he blessed them.

51. And it came to pass, whilst he blessed them, he departed from them, and was carried up to heaven.

52. And they adoring went back into Jerusalem with great joy.

53. And they were always in the temple, praising and blessing God. Amen.

ACTS i. 9–12

9. And when he had said these things, while they looked on, he was raised up: and a cloud received him out of their sight.

10. And while they were beholding him going up to heaven, behold two men stood by them in white garments.

11. Who also said: Ye men of Galilee, why stand you looking up to heaven? This Jesus who is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come, as you have seen him going into heaven.

12. Then they returned to Jerusalem, from the mount that is called Olivet, which is nigh Jerusalem, within a sabbath day's journey.

From a definite statement in the Acts of the Apostles we learn that our Lord remained on earth forty days after His resurrection, and that during this time He instructed the apostles more fully regarding the nature and purpose of the Messianic kingdom, and provided them with the authority and powers that they required for continuing His work on earth. When the forty days had elapsed, He returned to heaven, whence He had come at His Father's bidding to accomplish the salvation of mankind.

A brief account of the Ascension is given by St. Mark, and also by St. Luke in his gospel and in the Acts of the Apostles. During His public ministry our Saviour had frequently alluded to His Ascension,[1] and St. Peter and St. Paul refer to it in many places.[2]

[1] John vi. 63; xx. 17.

[2] Peter, in Acts ii. 33; iii. 21; 1 Peter iii. 22; Paul in Ephes. i. 20; ii. 6; iv. 9; Col. iii. 1; 1 Tim. iii. 16; Hebr. iv. 14; ix. 24.

The Ascension is universally believed to have taken place on a Thursday, because this is the fortieth day after Easter. In the past, some arguments in favor of Saturday have been put forward by writers who apparently included neither Easter Sunday nor the actual day of the Ascension in their reckoning. The day has been observed as a festival from the earliest times. The first definite evidence of this fact occurs in the Apostolic Constitutions, in which the day of Christ's Ascension is described as an independent festival, observed forty days after the Resurrection, on the fifth day of the week (Thursday).[1] Servile work was forbidden, because "the Ascension is a holy day marking the completion of the economy of salvation" (*διὰ τὸ πέρας τῆς κατὰ χριστὸν οἰκονομίας*).[2] In this sense St. John Chrysostom calls Ascension Day *ἡ ἐπισωζομένη*. Some think that in the 43rd canon of the Synod at Elvira there is evidence to show that in 306 A.D., when this synod was held, Ascension Day was already observed as a festival. St. Augustine says that the observance of the festival is based upon apostolic tradition; it is, however, impossible to prove that it was observed with an octave earlier than the fifteenth century.

The Ascension took place from Mount Olivet, which is situated about three quarters of a mile to the east of Jerusalem. St. Luke seems to say that it occurred at Bethany, which is on the eastern slope of the hill, and nearly two miles from Jerusalem,[3] but the evangelist's words need not be interpreted to mean that Jesus and His disciples actually reached Bethany; He may have led them along the road from Jerusalem in the direction of Bethany. A footpath to Bethany passes the spot whence Jesus is believed to have ascended.

According to a tradition dating back to the beginning of the fourth century, our Lord ascended from the middle peak of Mount Olivet, which is about 2500 feet in height. Eusebius states[4] that St. Helena erected a magnificent basilica on the spot, the Church of the Ascension, which has been destroyed and rebuilt several times. At the present day its site is marked by a small octagonal chapel, belonging to the Moslems, although Christians are occasionally permitted to worship there.[5] At a very early period some religious houses stood near the church, but these have completely disappeared. To the east of the chapel is a little village consisting of a few wretched huts. Some commentators[6] think that Jesus went with His disciples from Jerusalem to Bethany because He wished to visit Lazarus and his sisters once more, and that thence He went to the summit of Mount Olivet, in order to ascend into heaven.

St. Luke alone records the circumstances of the Ascension, and his account is very brief. Immediately before His departure Jesus lifted up His hands and blessed the apostles. Probably He stretched out His hands over them while He pro-

[1] Const. Apost. 5, 19.
[2] Const. Apost. 8, 33.
[3] John xi. 18.
[4] Vita Const. 3, 41–43.
[5] Kirchenlexikon, 6, 1.
[6] e.g., Corn. à Lap., Menochius, and Jansenius.

nounced a blessing. Many commentators think that He made the Sign of the Cross over them. St. Jerome seems to take this view, for in commenting on the words in Isaias lxvi. 19, *et ponam in eis signum,* he says: *hoc, inquit, nobis ad Patrem ascendens Dominus reliquit sive in nostris frontibus posuit.* Although it is uncertain how our Lord blessed His disciples, there can be no doubt that the use of the Sign of the Cross dates from the time of the apostles. The words pronounced by Christ have not been preserved, but we can easily imagine that He wished God's blessing to rest upon His disciples in their apostolic office, now that He Himself was leaving them. Since even the blessings imparted by the apostles were efficacious,[1] far more so must have been the last blessing uttered by their divine Master.

While Jesus blessed His disciples, He departed from them, not vanishing suddenly as He had done on previous occasions, but gradually rising upwards, so that they could watch His departure from this world. After some time a cloud hid Him from their gaze. They were permitted thus to witness His Ascension, in order that they might be able to bear testimony to it, as well as to the resurrection of the Messiah. Christ Himself accomplished His ascent into heaven by means primarily of the divine power which He possessed as God, and also in virtue of the agility proper to the glorified human body.[2] Hence we say in the Apostle's Creed that He "*ascendit*" *in caelum.* The evangelists speak of His being "taken" or "raised" up into heaven, but this expression is in harmony with Biblical usage, which ascribes the works of omnipotence *per appropriationem* to God the Father. St. Mark says that our Saviour "sitteth at the right hand of God." This is a figurative phrase, borrowed from the Psalms;[3] St. Paul explains it as meaning that the God-Man, having risen in glory, shares in the Kingship of heaven, and exercises His divine power in governing the world.[4]

We may here refer shortly to a few questions that have been asked in connection with the Ascension. At what hour did it take place? In commenting on Ps. liv. 18, "Evening and morning and at noon I will speak and declare, and he shall hear my voice," St. Augustine remarks *vespere Dominus in cruce, mane in resurrectione, meridie in ascensione.* Apparently, therefore, he believed the Ascension to have occurred at midday, and this is further suggested by the parallel between Christ and Adam; it was at noon

[1] Matthew x. 12, 13.
[2] Lyr.: *proprio motu per dotem agilitatis.*
[3] Ps. cix. 1.
[4] Cor. xv. 25.

that Adam sinned, and thus closed the gates of heaven to mankind;[1] and at the same hour Christ reopened them by returning to heaven from the work of the Redemption.

In answer to the question whether the Ascension was witnessed only by the apostles, or also by other disciples, we may notice that the evangelists mention no one but the apostles; many commentators, however, believe that other disciples, and especially Lazarus, his sisters, and other pious women, were present on Mount Olivet.[2] Our Lord's Ascension is termed the crown of all mysteries and the completion of His work of salvation.[3] It was an essential condition to the sending of the Holy Ghost to sanctify mankind;[4] moreover, it revealed in visible form the effects of our redemption, because it is not only a sensible manifestation of the exaltation of the God-Man, but is the supreme exaltation of human nature in general; finally, it is a guarantee that our Lord will some day return in glory.

By means of His Ascension Christ gave the plainest possible proof of His divinity, for which reason the apostles at once adored Him. Then, suddenly they beheld standing before them two angels in human form, wearing white garments. These angels assured them that the same Jesus, whose ascent into heaven they had just witnessed, would come again in the same way, viz., in visible and majestic form. The angels directed the apostles to leave the place whence their Lord had ascended, and so, in conformity with the instructions they had already received,[5] they went back to Jerusalem with great joy, as St. Luke remarks. They rejoiced because the God-Man was glorified in His departure from this world; because now they had the guarantee that the Holy Ghost would be sent to them, and, lastly, they understood that their Lord's Ascension was the visible expression of His triumph over all hostile powers. St. Luke goes on to say that the apostles, having returned to Jerusalem, "were always in the Temple, praising and blessing God." The evangelist is speaking of the time between the Ascension and the sending forth of the Holy Ghost, and there is no discrepancy between this statement and that which occurs in the Acts, i. 13, where we read that the apostles remained together in the cenaculum. No doubt, on their return from Mount Olivet, they decided to await the coming of the Holy Ghost in some place, familiar to them all, and this was probably the cenaculum; but at the regular hours of prayer they betook themselves to the Temple.

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[1] Gen. iii. 8.
[2] Of more recent writers, Laurent takes this view.
[3] Const. Apost. 7, 33; compare Kirchenlexikon 6, 1.
[4] Compare John vii. 39; xvi. 8.
[5] Luke xxiv. 49; Acts i. 4.

St. Mark concludes his gospel with an allusion to the apostles' activity at the time when he wrote; he says, "they going forth preached everywhere, the Lord working withal, and confirming the word with signs that followed." Christ's co-operation refers to the work of the Holy Ghost, whom He sent forth to supply the apostles, as He had promised, with words, wisdom, and strength,[1] and to make the hearts of men responsive to their preaching.[2] The miracles wrought by the apostles were not only a token of their divine mission, but gave support to the truth of the doctrines they taught.

[1] Luke xxi. 15. [2] Acts xvi. 14.

WORKS TO WHICH REFERENCE HAS CHIEFLY BEEN MADE

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ABBREVIATIONS MOST FREQUENTLY USED IN QUOTATIONS.

Ant. = *Antiquitates Judaicae* of Flavius Josephus.
Aug. Tr. = *St. Augustini in Joannis Evangelium Tractatus* cxxiv.
B. T. = *Bellum Judaicum* of Flavius Josephus.
Cyr. = *Cyrilli Alexandrini.*
Est. = *Estius Annotationes.*
Luc. Brug. = *Francisci Lucae Brugensis Commentarius.*
Lyr. = Lyranus, *Postilla.*
Pesch. = Peschitto.
Tir. = Tirini, *Commentarius.*
Tisch. = *Novum Testamentum graece,* ed. by Tischendorf.
W.-H. = The New Testament in the Original Greek, edited by Westcott and Hort.

Manuscripts: ℵ (*Codex Sinaiticus,* 4th cent.); A (*Alexandrinus,* 5th cent.); B. (*Vaticanus,* 4th cent.); C (*Ephraemi rescriptus,* 5th cent.); D (*Bezae,* 6th cent.); E (*Basileensis,* 8th cent.); F (*Boreelianus*); G and H (*Seidelianus*); K (*Cyprius*); L (*Parisiensis, Stephani octavus*); N (*Purpureus,* 6th cent.); U (*Venetus Marcianus, Nanianus*); W^a (St. Gall); X (*Monacensis*); Γ (*Oxoniensis-Petropolitanus*); Δ (*Sangallensis*); Λ (*Oxoniensis*).

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233.36 (2) 4647
P. 753
POELZL, F.X.
AUTHOR
The Passion & Glory of Christ
TITLE
DATE DUE | BORROWER'S NAME
O'Gara
De Jardin
Sullivan T.
O'Brien